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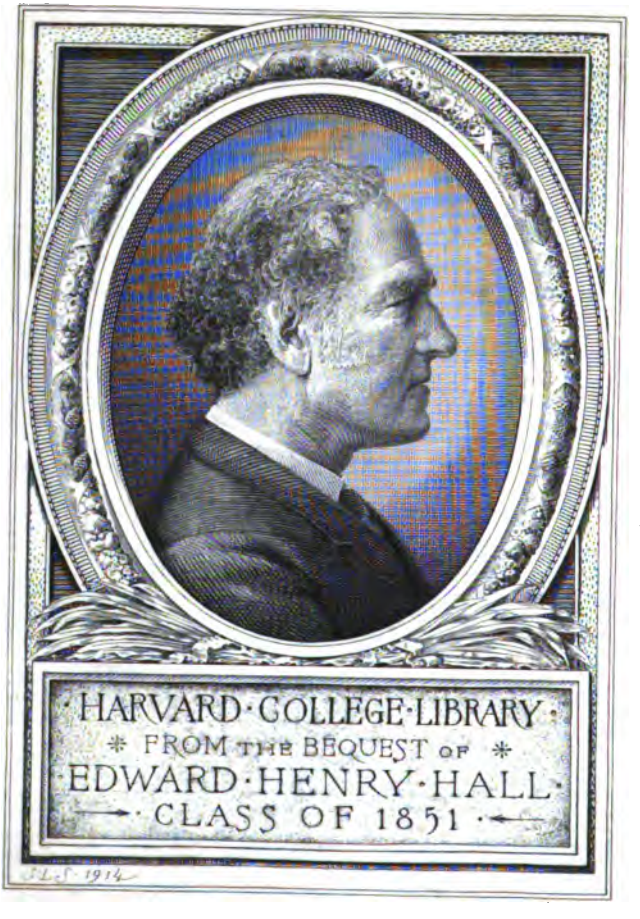
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A HISTORY OF MODERN LIBERTY

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A HISTORY

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BY

JAMES MACKINNON, Ph.D.

VOL. II.

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION.

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REVIEWS OF WORKS.

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A HISTORY

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CHAPTER I.

THE RENASCENCE AND THE EMANCIPATION OF THE INTELLECT.

RENASCENCE is the general term applied to the quickened intellectual activity which, from about the close of the Middle Ages, manifested itself in the whole sphere of man's spiritual life—in learning and literature, in art and science, in discovery and invention, in politics, law, and religion. In one sense it was a rebirth—the rebirth of an intellectual life which the fall of the Roman Empire had stifled, and which had inspired the philosophers, the poets, the historians, the artists of classic antiquity. In another sense it was an emancipation from the bonds of the feudal age which had been dominated by a certain system in church, school, state, society. This emancipation process began long before the dawn of the Renascence Period proper, was, in fact, as far as these remote beginnings are concerned, independent of the later revival of the fifteenth century. It took a political and social direction. To the universal dominion claimed by the emperor it opposed the incipient nationalist tendency which finally resulted in the establishment of distinct and powerful nations, in place of the one mediæval empire which had at best been but a fiction. As against the pope it championed the right of both emperor and king, and paved the way for the establishment of national churches in place of the universal Roman Church. As against the hier-

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archy of feudal magnates it evolved the central ruler, whose authority became more and more predominant in fact as well as in theory. For the feudal superior it substituted the independent municipality, and it led to at least the partial emancipation of the lower classes from the bonds of serfage. It brought about the recognition of the rights of the Third Estate, in opposition to the exclusive privileges of secular and clerical magnates, in government and legislation. It produced the mediæval constitution—the forerunner, nay the mother of the modern constitution.

We have traced the progress of this political and social reaction in the various lands of Western, Central, and Southern Europe. This reaction was, we repeat, to a large extent anterior to, and independent of, what is usually called the Renascence. There are indeed traces of the influences which produced the Renascence at work in this mediæval movement on behalf of political and social emancipation. The maxims of the Roman jurists are already perceptible, in the Middle Ages, in the arguments in support of the contentions of the emperor against the pope, or of the national king against the feudal hierarchy. An occasional voice is heard appealing to the dicta of a Seneca, or a Cicero, or the Pandects in favour of human equality and brotherhood, as well as to the teachings of the original Christ. Even the sovereignty of the people finds its champions and exponents in mediæval writers. In general, however, the struggle for political and social emancipation in the Middle Ages was the fruit, not of an intellectual rebirth inspired by antiquity, but of self-interest, of the aspiration after the betterment of his condition inherent in man. Industrial, economic factors raised the serf to at least partial freedom ; the merchant, the artisan, to political and civic rights. Mediæval revolution was largely a practical matter. The aspiration after rights arose from the experience of the world as it was, not as it had been. If a community became prosperous, it ultimately became free—as the word free was understood in the Middle Ages. The feudal system might not be broken up, but the conditions of feudal life were at least enlarged, so as to give certain rights and privileges to a larger number. The feudal lord was forced to waive claims, rights, privileges which he enjoyed at the cost of the subordination,

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the slavery of the larger number. The Assembly of the Three Estates, for instance, might be a feudal assembly, but it was an assembly representing civic as well as aristocratic interests. The municipality might be a collective feudal superior, but it at least represented not a territorial lord, but a body of citizens. The mediæval emancipation movement thus made for reform, progress, as far as the circumstances of the time admitted. And it was the beginning of the far larger movement which we have yet to trace throughout modern times.

To that larger movement the Renascence, taken in its widest meaning as what Mr Symonds calls "the attainment of self-conscious freedom by the human spirit," contributed a mighty impulse. Its *rôle* in the history of modern liberty can in truth hardly be overrated. We look in vain in the Middle Ages, alongside the political and social emancipation movement, for any evidence of a similarly large movement in favour of spiritual emancipation—the emancipation of the intellect and the conscience. Freedom of thought and conscience, freedom from the routine of dogma, authority, were unthinkable, except to a few daring minds who made but a passing impression on the conventional, the authorised, order of things in church or school. There might be champions of heterodoxy in theology and philosophy, but the authoritative system is the fact which we must keep in view. The system was supreme, dissent from it merely incidental. An Abelard, an Arnold of Brescia, a Roger Bacon, who chafed at the authoritative system and ventured to have ideas of their own, were as voices crying in the wilderness. *Sic volo, sic jubeo*, was the watchword of the demigod at Rome and his henchmen in pulpit and school. Some might dare to be heretics; Fraticelli, Cathari, Albigensian sectaries might defy the demigod. But they had to reckon with a St Dominic and other avenging angels of the pope, and expiate their audacious independence with fire and sword, massacre, extermination. Some might dare to question history, to criticise ecclesiastical authority, to dissent from the decisions of conclave and council, to venture on new ground in theology and philosophy. We think of Scotus Erigena questioning transubstantiation, of Roger Bacon positing a more rational explanation of natural phenomena, of Abelard challenging the received opinions of the

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schools, of Arnold of Brescia attacking the sham Christianity of the hierarchy. It might be heroic, but it was a forlorn hope. Every effort to emancipate the mind from the thralls of tradition, every effort, rational and irrational, cleric and lay alike, dashed in pieces on the rock of prejudice, ignorance, pretension, assumption, which put on the guise of truth, and claimed the unquestioning submission of intellect and conscience. There was indeed some independent thinking, within certain limits, as the recurring controversies of the Middle Ages show. A speculative tendency of a kind was active enough. Some strong mind like that of Erigena or Abelard would, too, occasionally refuse to submit to current dogmas, and defend new or singular opinions with much acuteness and some independence. Erigena and Ratramnus, for instance, challenged the dogma of transubstantiation, protested against materialistic views of the Sacrament. But this mental activity as represented by the schoolmen, tended to degenerate into mere quibbling about words or trivialities. It was artificial, formal, and often childish. Moreover, it was narrowed by certain defined limits which no thinker might overstep. The truth of the received system was assumed, and the reason was not free to apply itself to the untrammelled search after truth. To doubt was to be damned in regard to the received verities of faith or philosophy. "There was, indeed," says Mr R. L. Poole, "never a time when the life of Christendom was so confined within the hard shell of its dogmatic system that there was no room left for individual liberty of opinion. A ferment of thought is continually betrayed beneath these forms; there are even indications of a state of opinion antagonistic to the Church itself. . . . Such efforts until we approach the border line of modern history were invariably disappointed. They rarely excited even a momentary influence over a wide circle." The age, in truth, achieved some progress in political speculation, as we have seen in a previous chapter. The struggle between emperor and pope, the discussion of their respective spheres of jurisdiction, the conflict of the conceptions of Church and State, produced notable results in the domain of political theory. The views of successive writers show progress, and reach even a revolutionary climax in a Marsilio of Padua. But wherever the

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Church exerted its influence—and its influence was ubiquitous —anything approaching independent thought, the free exercise of the intellect in regard to theological dogma, ecclesiastical authority, was suicidal.

How could it be otherwise in such an age? It was the age of obscurantism in things of the mind, the age of visions and miracles of saints, of the fighting bishop and abbot who could wield a sword, but could hardly read the alphabet, of lazy monks who lived on the fat of the land in ignorance and vice, of quibbling pedants in the schools who wasted their ingenuity on the discussion of such a mighty question as how many angels could stand on the point of a needle, of crusading hordes who mistook a holy war to recover the sepulchre of Christ and secure shiploads of relics of the true cross and other holy rubbish, for the real warfare of loving one's neighbour and attaining to the higher Christian morality. It had indeed its great conceptions, its soaring aspirations, as its mighty temples of stone show; its feeling for humanity, its sense of duty, as the better aspects of Christian chivalry remind us; its fits of real devotion, as the self-sacrifice of a St Francis in the service of the miserable testifies. But the greatness of its Gothic architecture exhausted its intellectual greatness, and its Knights Templars and its Franciscans at their best were not the exponents of the spirit of the age. It was in general an age of unenlightenment. The modern spirit of liberty of thought and conscience could not have breathed freely, if at all, in that murky atmosphere of priestly intolerance, crass superstition, puerile pedantry. For those who rose above that murky atmosphere into the ethereal current of spiritual freedom, the world was a veritable purgatory, a world of torture and misery, a world of sorrow, barrenness, and death. What men thought of that world of theirs we learn from Dante, and Dante sends pope and priest to the deepest inferno to expiate their misdeeds. Much that we count great, much that we hold dear, pope and priest degraded and blasted. The world was a desert. Its beauties, its charms, were snares. The predominant spiritual conception of life was that of the monk, and the monk was too often an ignoramus, or a fanatic, or both.

The Church, unfortunately, after the fall of the Roman

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Empire, did not press into its service the old classic culture, as she did the old imperial organisation. What we call a liberal education was suspected and discredited by pope and bishop. It was eschewed by the monks and clerics who taught in the cathedral and monastic schools that displaced the older educational institutions. Pagan poetry, pagan philosophy, were banned as dangerous to the faith. From the fifth century onwards "the hostility of the Church towards letters," to quote Mr Poole, "is nearly universal." To Gregory the Great the treasures of the classic authors were "the idle vanities of secular learning," from which he exhorted the bishop of Vienne, who had ventured to expound "grammar" to his friends, to keep himself undefiled. It was only in Ireland and Iona that the Celtic monks combined the study of Latin, Greek, and even Hebrew, with that of theology, and these Scottish monks, to whom the spirit of wandering, as we learn from the "Life of St Gall," was a second nature, exerted themselves to keep burning the torch of classic learning as well as Christian teaching, as missionaries in Britain, Gaul, Germany, Switzerland, and even Italy. The imaginative, responsive nature of the Celt revelled in the poetry of Greece and Rome, as in the songs of the native bards. In their track the light of learning as well as of monkish piety brightened the barbarian darkness of Western and Central Europe, for an interval, before the advent of Charlemagne—a fact overlooked by Professor Giesebrecht when he tells us that after the end of the sixth century "the most fearful barbarism, whose darkness is relieved by no spark of the higher intellectual life, reigned throughout the West." On the contrary, it was just towards the end of the sixth century that these wandering Scottish monks began their mission as preachers and teachers, which embraced so large a part of the western empire. What they did for the cultivation of letters in the Anglic church of Northumbria is evidenced by the erudition of a Baeda, and other English scholars who owed, directly or indirectly, much to the monastic schools of Ireland. The missionaries from Rome to Anglo-Saxon Britain likewise founded schools, and contributed their share to the spread of Christianity and education among the Anglo-Saxons. From these schools, too, such as those of York, Jarrow, Wearmouth, a new missionary and educational movement radiated its light

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to the Continent in the reign of Charlemagne. Its greatest exponent was Alcuin, who became the leader of the educational revival that lent so much lustre to Charlemagne's government.

That revival was unfortunately of short duration. Succeeding the activity of Celt and Saxon monk in Gaul and Germany, a long period of blight ensued once more. Patrons of learning in high places, educationists who showed some zeal for a "humane" culture and some proficiency in it, still appeared at intervals. The Emperor Otto, for example, in the tenth century, Rabanus Maurus in the ninth, Pope Sylvester II. in the eleventh, John of Salisbury in the twelfth. In some of the schools a few of the Latin classics at least—Horace, Virgil, Sallust, Livy—were studied, and throughout the whole of the Middle Ages they could count on a few readers of exceptional culture. But if the Latin classics were not entirely neglected in some of the schools, or superseded by the scholastic philosophy, only the rarest acquaintance with Greek, as in the case of the Englishmen Grossteste and Roger Bacon in the thirteenth century, is perceptible. And what knowledge there was, was probably very superficial. But, even if there had been more knowledge of Latin and Greek than there was, it could not have availed against the spirit of the age. The appreciation of the free humanist spirit that had inspired and pervaded art and literature in the Roman world was possible only in the narrowest degree. The dominant influence was adverse to the free exercise of the human faculties and feelings. The classic conception of life was stifled, and not till this larger, freer conception was revived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the humanist had displaced the theological view, could humanity regain the path of intellectual progress. A crude asceticism in the monasteries, while acting as a needful antidote to the crass immorality of the age, turned from the allurements of pagan learning as snares for the soul, hindrances to the true Christian life of self-abnegation. This theory of Christian life sprang from the view that the human soul could only be debased by the enjoyment of the things of sense, that human reason must be ignorant, slavishly passive, scourged into acquiescence in a grovelling faith, if it was to be holy and humble. Teaching and practice

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thus hardened more and more into dogma and superstition, in spite of the protests of spiritual teachers like Claudius of Turin, or Agobard of Lyons, or John Scotus Erigena, or Ratramnus in the ninth century, until we have the vast fabric of mediæval church doctrine, polity, and usage established by a Hildebrand, and expounded by the schoolmen. An absolute pope, an infallible church, a priestly caste, a hard and fast system of doctrine, transubstantiation, worship of saints and relics, a degrading materialism in religion, displaced the spiritual and ethical creed of Christ. Thus theology reigned supreme, and philosophy under the guidance of the pseudo-Aristotle had to square with it. The authority of the system excluded all other authority, and relentlessly crushed independent thinking, conscientious objections.

The dialectic drill that passed for science and learning in those haunts of teachers and students, which developed into universities, appears to us a very artificial thing. Its only value consisted in the fact that it at least afforded a mental discipline. It preserved the mind from dying of vacuity. The argumentation of Realist *versus* Nominalist, and *vice versâ*, was better than no argumentation, at all, and during the course of this argumentation the attempt was at least made to vindicate to some extent the free exercise of the reason. To this extent, but to this extent only, we may subscribe to the dictum of M. Saint Hilaire and M. Hureau that "the scholastic philosophy was the first insurrection of the modern spirit against authority." Anselm *versus* Roscellinus, Bernard *versus* Abelard, did some service in keeping alive intellectual discussion, especially as Roscellinus, Abelard were the champions of some measure of rationality, and compelled their antagonists to expend a good deal of intellectual energy in order to make good their contention that faith is greater and more imperative than knowledge, that the individual mind must not seek the truth for itself, as the nominalist contended, but submerge itself in the received system of dogma, must implicitly accept the teaching of the Church as irrefragable verities of faith, as the realist demanded. The position of an Anselm might be radically false and misleading. *Non intelligo ut credam, sed credo ut intelligam.* Faith, not reason, is the true criterion of knowledge. This

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might not be convincing; it was at any rate an argument. That is, however, all that can be said for it from our point of view. It certainly did not lead to the real culture, the true progress of the intellect. Such an argument applied to nature as well as philosophy might keep men in submission to the Church; it would never have germinated modern science or modern civilisation.

This was, however, the argument that held sway throughout the dreary period of scholasticism. Men like Abelard in the first half of the twelfth century were persecuted by Bernard of Clairvaux and other champions of the authoritative Church, as dangerous revolutionaries, for daring to question it. Abelard's pupil, Arnold of Brescia, was done to death for seeking to apply his master's critical spirit to the actual institutions of Church and State in Italy. Debate was welcomed as a buttress of the Church. What it achieved in this direction the arid tomes of the schoolmen bear witness. The moment it took an independent or semi-independent direction it was mercilessly suppressed, and till the fourteenth century the scholastic theology embodied in the works of Peter Lombard, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus, had no rival to fear in any appreciable attempt to emancipate the reason. Mysticism might turn away from its arid disquisitions, but mysticism was not given to rational inquiry or dangerous self-assertion. The dreamer, within certain limits, was allowed to dream; the rationalist was as terrible an enemy of established order as the modern anarchist. The subordination of the individual mind and conscience was an axiom of church and school. The order, the system, was the all in all of mediæval thought and life.

In the fourteenth century came at length the reaction against the limitation, the subordination of the reason, of which scholasticism was the expression and the monument. The human spirit gradually awoke from the nightmare of theological authority, and began to breathe more freely. As always happens, the new life was born of the old. The ecclesiastical, the scholastic, gave place to the human, the rational, conception. From dry dialectics men turned to the classic authors with the intense interest and delight born of the consciousness of a new taste, a new capacity. Literature, art,

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science, philosophy, even theology, felt, as time went on, the impression of the new impulse towards rationality, humanity, towards freedom of enjoyment and recreation. A change passes over the spirit of the age. It becomes more pagan, but at the same time more human. It feels itself expansive, responsive, and leaps with a truly pristine exultation out of the narrow, painful groove of the Middle Ages into a new path of freedom and enjoyment.

The new movement in literature, though antagonistic to scholasticism, was, however, not necessarily hostile to the Church. Petrarch, the father of humanism, was an orthodox churchman, and his criticism was reserved for the scholastic pedantry which did duty for education, and for astrology and quackery which passed for science. Many of his distinguished literary progeny held ecclesiastical offices, and by-and-bye some of the highest dignitaries of the Church were enthusiastic humanists. But the conception, the spirit of the new learning were radically different from those of mediæval tradition, and were bound ere long to induce a reaction dangerous to the sway of tradition in church as well as school. The free cultivation and exercise of the intellect was incompatible with the unreserved acceptance of an authoritative system in theology and philosophy. The study of Virgil, or Cicero, or Seneca, of Homer, or Plato might not make the student a sceptic. The modern civilised world is not sceptical, despite all the changes wrought by Renascence, Reformation, Revolution. The intellectual temper nurtured by such study, however, might easily, and did, revolt against the dogmas and sophistries that only the neglect of rational culture had made possible. It made for enlightenment. It roused the critical spirit. It brought man back to the knowledge of himself as a rational being. It nurtured the desire, the striving, for liberty of self-development. "The history of the Renascence," to quote Mr Symonds again, "is the history of the attainment of self-conscious freedom by the human spirit manifested in the European races." If man occasionally felt the impulse to such freedom in the Middle Ages, he was taught to suppress it or to harmonise it with the dominant system. With the advent of a larger culture this was difficult, and finally became impossible. Men might respect the traditional

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Church and its creed. Some of the Italian humanists were, indeed, men of sincere piety, and did not hesitate to wield their pens in the cause of purifying it from gross abuses. Petrarch, Salutati, Vittorino, for instance, among the earlier humanists, Ficino and Mirandola among the later. In the case of many of the latter, however, the profession of adherence to the Church, as it was, was a mere pretence. They might be conventional Christians; they were freethinkers in practice, who, like Cardinal Bembo, were pagans pure and simple in creed and life. Bembo, in fact, used to say that he refrained from reading St Paul's Epistles or his breviary for fear of spoiling his style. The result was a wide breach between profession and practice at the expense of honesty and earnestness. Honesty and earnestness were, in truth, not conspicuous qualities of the votaries of the later Italian Renascence. Many of them were poor specimens of both humanity and morality. They were shameless libertines in their lives and their writings, and some of the most obscene rubbish ever printed was the product of their pens. It should not be forgotten, however, that libertinism was no reproach to a Christian in the age of a Sixtus IV. or an Alexander VI. The most awful parody of Christian morality was furnished by the papal court itself. The orthodoxy of such popes was, nevertheless, unimpeachable, and this kind of orthodoxy was still a force to which humanists had at least formally to pay tribute. If some of them, like Valla, honestly ventured to criticise the pretensions of the popes, or at a later period, like Galileo, assert scientific doctrines which the Church considered false or dangerous, they were speedily taught that the papal power was still a thing to be reckoned with. Despite such professions, whether enforced or conventional, it was certain that the modern freedom could not permanently continue thus to humour the old slavery. In the lands north of the Alps at any rate, as we shall see, the votaries of the new culture were more consistent and far less accommodating, and asserted their opinions despite all the power and prestige of tradition and convention.

Petrarch could count on many disciples in his own age, chief of whom were Boccaccio, who added to his mastery of Latin some knowledge of Greek, John of Ravenna, and

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Salutati, Chancellor of Florence. Yet progress was but gradual. The new culture did not immediately capture, as it did not emanate from, the schools. But it succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of generous patrons like Cosimo and Lorenzo de Medici, in the principal Italian cities, and it derived a powerful impulse from those wandering Greek scholars for whom they provided a career as teachers of Greek at Rome or Florence, Perugia or Padua, Ferrara or Venice. Fully half a century before the fall of Constantinople the first of these famous exponents of Greek culture, Chrysoloras, began to teach at Florence. Others soon followed, and the pressure of the Turkish inroad into the Byzantine Empire speedily increased the number. George of Trebizond, Theodore Gaza, Plethon, Argyropoulos, Chalcondylas, John Lascaris, roused by their lectures the enthusiasm of crowds of students. Italians whom they had inspired or taught ere long appeared to emulate or eclipse their fame. Such were Filelfo and Politian, who at Florence, in the first and the second half of the fifteenth century respectively, fired students from many lands (Reuchlin, Grocyn, Linacre among them) with the spirit of the classics, as well as commented on their contents. The collector enriched the movement by the zeal of discovery, and the manuscripts of precious books whose very names had been forgotten were brought from Constantinople, or recovered from the dusty recesses of the monastic libraries. Its diffusion was immeasurably benefited by the printing press, notably that of Aldo Manuzio at Venice, and by the libraries which the collector and the printer made possible. The academies or literary associations which sprang up at Florence, Rome, Naples, Venice, gave it a corporate organisation, and contributed powerfully to its triumph. That triumph is evidenced by the fact that, in spite of the opposition of the monks, it captured not only the universities, but the Church itself. Popes like Nicolas V. and Leo X. became its ardent patrons. "We have been accustomed," wrote Leo in the brief conferring the papal privilege on Beroaldo's edition of the "Annals of Tacitus," "even from our early years to think that nothing more excellent or more useful has been given by the Creator to mankind, if we except only the knowledge and true worship of

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Himself, than these studies, which not only lead to the ornament and guidance of human life, but are applicable and useful to any particular situation—in adversity consolatory, in prosperity pleasing and honourable—insomuch that without them we should be deprived of all the grace of life and all the polish of social intercourse." Leo was, in fact, more humanist than pope, though officially he managed to reconcile the new culture with the traditional authority which he wielded. The spirit of the Medici reigned supreme in the curia. Even the papacy, though it was to veer back in Leo's successors of the latter half of the sixteenth century to the mediæval spirit, could not henceforth afford to ignore the changed spirit of the times. Nor could it prevent by counter-reformation devices the inevitable breach in the Church which humanism helped to bring about. It might burn Savonarola, who demanded a sweeping reform in the teeth of the opposition of the curia, under the infamous Alexander's auspices. It might damn Luther and all his works, and look askance at Erasmus and Reuchlin. Thomas Aquinas might remain the arbiter of sound doctrine, and the Council of Trent give renewed expression to mediæval tradition as the creed of the Church, but the humanists had succeeded in creating a new age in culture; and in other lands, if not in Italy, the Church was ere long to discover that they had at the same time conjured a revolution.

The Italian humanists were for the most part scholars and men of letters. They were devotees of the classics, not original thinkers. A few, like Ficino and Mirandola, were philosophers as well as scholars, and devoted themselves to the task of expounding the Platonic philosophy and harmonising it with Christianity. They were also, what was only too rare in this age of reaction and transition, men of pure life and soaring purpose. But Ficino was no creative genius, and the prodigy Mirandola died too early to do justice to his great powers. There was one exception to the rule of intellectual mediocrity. It is that of Machiavelli, who, as we shall see in the following chapter, was a truly original genius, and struck out on a new path of inquiry. It was not in what these men did in the way of constructing a new philosophy; it was in the work they did in helping to emancipate the

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mind from traditional fetters that their highest merit lies. Their work was pre-eminently a work of liberation. The work of construction came later. They began the movement that was to evolve in a Bacon, a Locke, a Spinoza. They made modern freethought, modern science, possible. They discovered in a rational culture the solvent that was to dissolve the dead mass of tradition and authority.

It was in the domain of art, rather than of thought, that the creative genius of the Italian Renascence showed itself. Here it not only revealed, it created a new world. The Middle Ages were indeed immensely great in architecture. The mediæval cathedral is, in conception and execution, a masterpiece. It suggests both originality and boldness of idea, and, in its majesty and grandeur, stands out in striking contrast to the puniness and poverty of the achievements of the age in philosophy. In sculpture and painting, however, the Middle Ages suffered from the blight of asceticism. The ascetic conception of both man and nature distorted, cramped, the artistic sense. The mind was the victim of an ill-regulated, diseased fancy which peopled the world with evil spirits, devils, monsters, whose grim forms haunt even its most splendid buildings, saw neither the truth nor the beauty of nature, and proclaimed the human as necessarily antagonistic to the divine. In such circumstances art could only be grotesque, childish. With the change of conception from the ascetic to the rational, the humanist view of life, the emancipation of art, as well as learning and philosophy, began. Mediæval crassness, grotesqueness, unnaturalness, disappeared before the plastic touch inspired by nature and antiquity. Turning from a mediæval Madonna or saint to the Madonnas or saints of a Raphael, a Leonardo da Vinci, a Michael Angelo, we at once feel that a new power as well as a new aspiration has enlarged and enriched the human spirit. Here, too, we learn that old things have passed away, all things have become new. In Raphael as in Machiavelli, in Michael Angelo as in Petrarch, the revolt against tradition and system speaks with unmistakable emphasis. The subject of this art may be largely Christian or ecclesiastical; the life it delineates is that of real human beings such as a Phidias sculptured.

The influence of the Renascence north of the Alps showed

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itself in the same many-sided awakening of the human mind as in Italy. On scholarship, literature, art, education, science, it exercised the magic of a new inspiration. German scholars like Rudolf Agricola, Celtes, Wimpfeling, Reuchlin, Melancthon, vied, in their erudition and their enthusiasm, with those of Italy. Germany, the land of the invention of printing had too, its humanist societies and its famous printing presses, like that of Froben at Basle, to make war on obscurantism, and the older universities like Heidelberg, Erfurt, Vienna, readily joined in the attack. If Italy produced a Galileo, Germany produced a Müller (Regiomontanus), a Copernicus. The Germans, Dürer, Holbein, Cranach, are fitting peers of the great Italian masters. In Switzerland Zwingli was an enthusiastic humanist before he became an aggressive religious reformer. In France a whole galaxy of scholars—Faber, the Estiennes, father and son, printers as well as scholars, Budeus, Turnebus, Etienne Dolet, Vatable, &c., shone in the firmament of the Renascence period. The Netherlands may claim to have given birth, in Erasmus, to the greatest of transalpine men of letters, who deservedly wielded the dictatorship of the literary republic of his day. They may claim, too, to have produced some of the greatest masters in the realm of art. England could boast of Colet, and More, and Tyndale; Scotland of Buchanan and Andrew Melville; Spain of a Lebrixa and a Ximines; Portugal of Tesiras.

In the humanist movement north of the Alps the serious, critical spirit is very characteristic, superlatively significant. It was not only, as in Italy, a reaction from the old in favour of the new culture, not only a literary but a deeply moral and religious movement. It combined with the devotion to the new literary culture an earnestness of conception and purpose which made the period of the Renascence north of the Alps a period of reform in church and society, as well as in school, to a far greater degree than was the case in the south. Savonarola might be mentioned as the protagonist of a reform movement in Italy, which owed something to the humanists, but Savonarola was a mediævalist rather than a modern, and his influence was besides, as we have seen, fleeting. Ficino, Mirandola, and others were high-souled, serious men, but their zeal for reform was speculative rather than practical. In the

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lands of the north, on the other hand, a perfect army of reformers, of various shades of tendency, arrayed themselves against traditional abuse. To these men the humanist movement came as a call to the battle with such abuse, as well as an inspiration to a new intellectual life. Whether churchmen like Wimpfeling, Erasmus, Faber, Colet, Zwingli, or laymen like Reuchlin, Melancthon, More, they were equally earnest in their striving to make knowledge the handmaid of reform. And this reform was of far-reaching range. It embraced not merely education, general culture. It fastened, as we shall see more at large presently, on theological, social, political questions. It attacked tradition all along the line. In reformers like Reuchlin and Erasmus it brought the resources of critical scholarship to the study of the Bible in the original Hebrew and Greek, in spite of the fierce antagonism of obscurantist theologians and zealots like the converted Jew Pfefferkorn, the Dominican monk Hochstraten, the schoolmen of Louvain and Paris, and created the science of modern theology, critical if believing, scholarly if orthodox. In Luther, Zwingli, Melancthon, Calvin, it struck at the traditional theology as well as at the traditional philosophy. In More, as in Machiavelli, it turned the searchlight of criticism on politics, but in More, as we shall see, political and social reform was wedded to a beautiful aspiration after the highest good of the people by the use of the noblest methods, not, as in Machiavelli, to a frightful system of political immorality. It eventuated in a Montaigne, a Giordano Bruno, and a Bacon, in the beginnings at least of a new philosophy and a new scientific method. It was thus the commencement of that vast revolution on behalf of liberty and truth which is still so powerfully operative in the cause of progress among the modern nations. With the Renascence, despite what seems to us its limitations, its errors, the cause of free inquiry, free self-assertion, took possession of the future. If the age did not achieve in this direction all that we should wish it to have done, let us be thankful that it achieved so much. The mills of God grind slowly, but they grind exceeding sure; and if we remember what a contrast the age of the Renascence presents to that which preceded it, we can only marvel at the miracle of its achievement. In the

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space of about 150 years, modern man, holding up the mirror to the age of the mediæval schoolmen and the mediæval popes, could hardly recognise his great-grandfather as intellectually of the same spirit as himself.

These 150 years constitute, potentially at least, one of the most momentous periods in the history of the world. The period was full of life, intensity, in many departments of human effort. It bore within it the seeds of a many-sided revolution—political, intellectual, social, religious. It witnessed the revival of letters and the invention of printing, and gave a new hemisphere, a new art, a new culture, and the beginning of a new science to the world. It can boast of great artists and scholars, great inventors and explorers, great reformers, and even revolutionists, great men of action as well as great men of thought. It was a period in which a new world was born as well as discovered, in which the mediæval gave place to the modern age. And the change is apparent all along the line of human activity. In the political sphere it witnessed the development, if not the birth, of absolute monarchy, for it embraced the rise of the monarchic power of a Ferdinand and Isabella, of a Henry VII., of a Louis XI., of the Medici at Florence, and the Sforza at Milan, of the petty sovereigns that virtually transformed the empire into a number of small monarchies. This development of the modern absolute monarchy was in itself a revolution—a revolution at the expense of mediæval constitutionalism, which, by reason of its anarchic tendencies, its antagonism to national unity, failed to assert itself against the central power in Spain, France, Germany, and England. From the point of view of political liberty, this might be a revolution in the wrong direction, but it nevertheless tended to some extent in the direction of progress. It at least substituted centralised authority for aristocratic anarchy in England, France, and Spain; and if it cannot be said to have been a revolution in favour of political liberty, liberty, as understood by the feudal nobility, hardly deserved a revolution in its favour. And where, as in Bohemia, the cause of liberty was identified with popular or national aspirations, it was weakened by a fanatic, impractical spirit, which would have made its triumph a questionable boon from the standpoint of order and stability.

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The Taborite politicians, who mixed up politics with a visionary religious fanaticism, were not the men to vindicate the rights of man in a reasonable, enduring fashion.

In the intellectual sphere the revolutionary trend of the age is equally unmistakable. At first sight there is not much that is revolutionary in the Revival of Learning. The scholar who studied Greek manuscripts and annotated editions of the classics does not look like a revolutionist. The printer, the man of science, the mathematician, the inventor, the explorer, who gave expression, each in his own fashion, to the new intellectual movement, were not, as a rule, conscious of a mission to revolutionise the world. And yet they played a part in a revolutionary movement. The scholar, the printer, the inventor, the man of science, even the explorer who gave scope in his own adventurous fashion to the throbbing life of the time, were, consciously or unconsciously, working for the subversion of the old order of things. The humanist, in particular, was the prophet of a new culture, a new educational system, a new theology which must shake tradition to its foundations, end in the overthrow of the traditional learning, the rending in twain, if not the complete overthrow, of the old Church. Nay, the battle was already being waged between progressive and conservative, between the men of progress and the votaries of tradition. In this battle the printer was the most potent ally of the humanist, for the printer diffused the new culture by means of his press, opened the flood-gates of knowledge, sent forth edition after edition of the classics, and even of the Bible—translated Bibles, too—to quicken the intellectual ferment outside as well as inside the schools. The printer is, in truth, the greatest revolutionist that has ever appeared on earth. After the middle of the fifteenth century it was henceforth impossible to crush the critical spirit by means of inquisitions and holy crusades. Pope and priest might well tremble for their supremacy in the presence of the press, though the press might print and publish for as well as against the Church. And the day was coming when the now omnipotent, absolute king would have equal cause to fear the power of the press. The danger to the king was as yet not so appreciable as to pope and priest. But the critical spirit, born of the Renascence, would not in the long-run stop short

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at theology or philosophy. It would apply itself to politics as well as to theology and philosophy, and, as the works of More and other political writers show, it would do so in a fashion by no means agreeable to absolute kings.

In the social and religious sphere the revolutionary tendency of the period is equally patent. The social reaction against feudalism which had produced the mediæval municipalities may be traced throughout the fifteenth and well into the sixteenth centuries in the efforts of the masses, in Bohemia, Germany, England, more especially, to extort justice, rights for the common man. The common man made his voice heard amid the clash of controversy in school and pulpit, and rose in revolt over a large area of Europe to enforce his claims. And this social movement was intimately connected with that tremendous religious uprising on behalf of the rights of the individual soul which culminated in the Reformation. If the period had no other title to be called a period of revolution, the Reformation alone amply suffices to substantiate it.

SOURCES.—Huréau, La Philosophie Scolastique (1850), and Histoire de la Philosophie Scolastique (1872); Vita S. Galli in Mon. Ger. Hist. (Pertz ii.); Mackinnon, Culture in Early Scotland (1892); Rettberg Kirchen Geschichte Deutschlands (1846); Loofs, De Antiqua Britonum Scotorumque Ecclesia (1882); Poole, Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought (1884); Emerton, Mediæval Europe, particularly the luminous chapter on the Intellectual Life (1894); Symonds, Renaissance in Italy (1875 *et seq.*), and A Short History of the Renaissance in Italy, adapted by A. Pearson (1893); Van Dyke, The Age of the Renascence (1897); Jebb, The Classical Renaissance, in the Cambridge Modern History, vol. i. (1902); Hausrath, Weltverbesserer im Mittelalter (1895).

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CHAPTER II.

MACHIAVELLI AND MORE.

THE characteristic effects of the Renascence movement on political thought are most strikingly apparent in the works of the Italian, Niccolo Machiavelli, and the Englishman, Thomas More. As we shall see, they differ widely in their conception of government, but, in both, the critical spirit, as directed to political institutions, finds most forcible expression.

A few weeks after the execution of Savonarola, Niccolo Machiavelli became Chancellor and Secretary to "The Ten of Liberty and Peace," or ministry of foreign affairs. This post he occupied for thirteen years till the fall of the republic in 1512. He was frequently employed in diplomatic missions which took him to France and Germany as well as to most of the Italian States. He thus acquired the knowledge of men and affairs, which he turned to account as an author, during his enforced retirement at San Casciano, in consequence of the relapse of the republic under Medician sway. The remainder of his life was that of a sorely-tried and disappointed suitor of fortune. Both his desire and his failure to win office are responsible for the works which he wrote during the fifteen years that intervened between the loss of his office in 1512 and his death in 1527. Two of these works, the "Principe" and the "Discorsi," which he began in 1513, have made him immortal. Machiavelli is, in truth, a giant among political thinkers, the greatest that had appeared since the days of Aristotle. His importance for us lies in his method, as much as, if not more than, in his matter. In his method of treating political problems he is a new man in political philosophy. He appeals to history, not to revelation, for an answer to these problems. He divorces politics from theology, and follows reason, instructed by history, as his guide. The mediæval doctors had, as we have seen, elaborated

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political theories, but they did so from the theological standpoint, and if they used history it was merely to enforce the theocratic supremacy of the pope, or vindicate the divine right of the emperor. Whether they championed the pope or the emperor, they reasoned from the assumption that the basis of power is directly or indirectly divine, not human. This theological conception dominates their doctrines; their argumentation is largely, if not exclusively, based on the Bible and the Fathers. A stray voice, like that of Marsilio of Padua in the fourteenth century, may advocate a more rational notion of politics, but even Marsilio is still inspired by the eternal question of empire *versus* church. He is indeed daringly modern in some of his views, but he still conceives of the State as a universal empire, to which the Church ought to be subject. He does not disentangle the State from both Church and Empire, though the idea suggests itself to his mind.

On opening the "Discourses" and the "Prince" of Machiavelli, on the contrary, we lose touch of the mediæval doctors, with their interminable argumentation about the sun and the moon, the spiritual and the temporal, church and empire, pope and kaiser. In Machiavelli we have the secularist in politics, the pagan in religion, the scientist in method. He brushes aside the schoolmen as mere formalists, and seeks to grapple with reality as unfolded in history. To him history is what natural phenomena are to the man of science, and he studies, weighs his facts apart altogether from any preconceived theological theory. It is this application of reason to history, untrammelled by traditional beliefs, that makes him a new man, a revolutionist in political thought. The "Prince" and the "Discourses" mark in this sense a revolution. In them we see the critical, rationalist spirit of the Renascence at work in the field of politics. Machiavelli observes, experiments, in order to reach the laws of political societies. He may not do this correctly; he quotes when he should compare; he narrows his field of observation unduly to the history of Rome; he accepts the tales of Livy as historically veracious; he is content to assume the origins of political society when he should have striven to demonstrate. He has no notion of progress by evolution, and assumes that ancient history, particularly Roman history, is the measure of all history. His conclusions may be hasty or

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one-sided; but he is unquestionably on the right track, and his critical, independent method was to lead others if not himself to the right goal. If in his hands it resulted in the creation of the "Prince," it was by-and-bye to lead others to question the right of the absolute monarch who might see in the "Prince" his historic justification. Once grant the principle of the untrammelled exercise of reason in the study of political history, and you sound the knell of all merely traditional authority in Church and State that does not commend itself to reason so enlightened.

Though we have no desire to belittle Machiavelli's originality as a political thinker, it is none the less patent that he owes the bent of his genius as much to his age as to himself. It was through him that the quickened intellectual life of the Renascence struck a new vein in the strata of history. He had, moreover, Aristotle for his forerunner, though he shows himself more scientific in restricting his deductions to historic fact, and eschewing mere paper constitutions, mere Utopias like Plato's republic. It is equally true of him, as of Luther, that the age made the man. Rationality is its keynote, and in applying reason to history, observation and reflection to political problems, apart from theological theory, Machiavelli was only exemplifying the method which Guicciardini and others of his contemporaries were attempting to do, though in a less sustained and philosophic spirit. "It is beyond all doubt," says Villari in his "Life and Times of Machiavelli," "that the literature of the humanists produced, by the example of the ancients, a new intellectual training, and inevitably paved the way for the examination of social facts on purely human and natural grounds. Both their letters and their books of travel abound with admirable descriptions of manners and institutions of different peoples, together with valuable remarks on the causes of their decadence and their regeneration. We no longer meet with the eternal explanation of the hand of the Almighty guiding nations as a skilful driver may guide his fiery steed, for now instead the writer found the explanation of the facts he noted, in the temper of men, in their vices and their virtues. Indeed, this new tendency of the mind may be said to be the sole genuinely original quality of the learned men as political writers."

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It is the distinction of Machiavelli that he gave large scope to "this new tendency of the mind," and went further in his reaction against tradition than his contemporaries. In his advocacy of nationality, his opposition to the papal power, his hostility to feudalism, he is uncompromisingly modern. The papacy, he boldly says, is the curse of Italy. "By the infamous example of that court the land has lost all devotion and all religion. . . . We Italians, then, are first indebted to the Church and the clergy for the loss of our faith and the increase of wickedness; but we likewise owe them another and a greater obligation which is the cause of our ruin. It is, that the Church has kept and keeps our country divided. And verily no country was ever happy or united save under the complete sway of a republic, or a sovereign, as has been the case with France and Spain."

From this bold deliverance we may feel how far we have left the Middle Ages behind us. Feudalism, too, shares with the Church the guilt of Italy's decay. It is not only antagonistic to national unity, but to republican freedom and equality as well as monarchic supremacy. The wounds of Italy can never be healed as long as these petty magnates of the Romagna, Naples, Rome, and Lombardy are allowed to give rein to their ambition and corruption. So modern is he that his chief practical object in studying history is to discover how he can transform degenerate, divided Italy into an united nation. In this striving he was only seeking to apply to Italy the lesson afforded by contemporary France and Spain, but in so doing he far out-distanced all his Italian contemporaries, and anticipated posterity by three centuries.

The modern spirit is, however, in some respects unfortunate in its champion. Machiavelli reflects the low public and religious spirit of his time. Italian politicians were pure opportunists. A man of principle was as rare as a martyr. Machiavelli himself, for instance, while professing republican principles, craved employment, in spite of repeated rebuffs and cruel tortures, from the destroyer of the Florentine republic. His desperate straits in his exile at San Casciano may be allowed to palliate to some extent the cringing opportunism which otherwise looks so ill in a philosopher. He is wearing out, he pathetically writes to his friend Vittori, in the struggle

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with poverty, and sees no resort but to turn pedagogue and teach the children of others their letters in order to win bread for his own. In such a desperate pass it is unfair to judge a man harshly, especially as he had evidently lost faith in the republic as the hope of Italy. But the spirit of sordid calculation, in defiance of professed principles, was a characteristic of the age. It appears in Guicciardini and in the whole band of politicians produced by the Italian tyrannies and republics. Guicciardini was as ready to be the ambassador of the Medici as of the republic, and he was happy in finding the employment that Machiavelli vainly sought. With him, as with Machiavelli, a man's opinions are for the study. They are not meant to inspire or control his actions outside it.

It was from this spirit that Italian statecraft and Machiavelli's political science sprang, and it is not an attractive one. We may be shocked; we need not be surprised if from this practical school a system was evolved that is not merely secular, but, in some of its aspects, brazenly immoral. In divorcing politics from theology, Machiavelli, as usually happens in a period of reaction, went too far. He divorced politics from morality, because he lived in an atmosphere of political immorality, and could not shake himself free from the spirit of the age. There was certainly nothing new in the mere fact of this divorce, for political immorality has left its black trail throughout the whole course of history. What was new in these modern times was the attempt to construct a sternly logical theory of political immorality, whose basis was only too solidly established on the coarse groundwork of history. If he has no room for a pope in his State, he has nothing but admiration for the clever, depraved politician who occupied the chair of St Peter. Nay, he has hardly any room for God except for political purposes, for he is quite alive to the political value of religion, and occasionally plays the part of the moral philosopher, when State necessity will allow, with extraordinary versatility. But he does not allow these asides to weaken the relentless logic of his principle that in the establishment and government of the State, which he contemplates for Italy, politics are absolutely distinct, not only from theology but from ethics. The ruler has, indeed, his own code of morals, but this code is subject to no law but

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that of State necessity. Force and craft are the indispensable qualifications of this ruler. The art of government must in the nature of things be an essentially immoral art. It might be from the standpoint of his time, which counted a Louis XI., a Ferdinand of Spain, a Cæsar Borgia among its successful rulers. But, in narrowing politics to the measure of the successful politicians of his own time, or of ancient times, he was neither scientific nor just to human nature. It did not occur to him to ask whether, even from the historic standpoint, he was right in assuming that the arts of a Louis XI. constitute the Alpha and Omega of politics, or that human nature is at all times radically bad. If we were to narrow history and human nature to his horizon, we should rob the world of much that has been the mainspring of political life in its nobler forms. Thank God, the Italy or the Europe of Machiavelli is not the measure of humanity, even in politics. It is sufficient for him that he cannot regenerate Italy or rule mankind in the sixteenth century without the aid of all the arts of the cheat and the villain, to deduce from history the science of this villainy as the science of politics. For our part, we would rather not have a State which depends for its initiation and preservation on the commission of every crime that history records, even if it succeeds in unifying Italy. The fact is, that such a State is an impossibility. Even politics must have some place for God and conscience, apart from the grossly utilitarian standpoint. You cannot rule man on the mere assumption that religion is at best but a political force, and conscience but a trump card in the game of the political gambler. Morality has its place, and sometimes asserts its place, in startling fashion, in all the relations of human life, politics included. The history of Germany, the Netherlands, France, Scotland, England, was to show in the very century in which Machiavelli wrote, greatly to the surprise and sometimes to the discomfiture of princes of the Machiavellian type, that religious and moral conviction is a tremendous force in the making and unmaking of States.

For us, however, the important question, next to his method, is not the use he makes of it to deduce an inconscionable despotism for a practical political object. More pat to our purpose is the question whether he contributes anything

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to the problem of how to establish a popular government. Even in the "Prince," in which his aim is "to show how monarchies may be governed and preserved," he emphasises the importance of the people as a factor in government. I do not know that under "the people" he embraces the whole mass of the population—*plebs* as well as *populus*. In his "History of Florence," at all events, he has nothing but contempt for democracy in the widest sense, and limits political rights to the "popolari"—the middle and upper lower classes. In the "Discourses" he calmly assumes that the Parliament of Paris is the French people! Of the people, in the limited sense at least, he is the enthusiastic admirer. In this respect he contrasts very favourably with Guicciardini, who, though no lover of tyrants, holds the people in contempt. "To speak of the people is to speak of madmen, for the people is a monster full of confusion and error, and its vain beliefs are as far from truth as is Spain from India according to Ptolemy." Machiavelli is the staunch opponent of such wholesale depreciation. Even in the "Prince" the people appears as an important factor in government. In the case of a prince who holds his throne in virtue of election (*del principato civili*, ch. 9), popular election is, he holds, a better guarantee of power than election by the few (the nobility). In either case it is essential that this type of prince should cultivate the goodwill of the people, for the devotion of the people can alone secure him against the machinations of the nobles, who are prone to conspiracy. From this point of view he combats the saying, that "he that builds on the people builds on the sand." "If the prince that builds on the people knows how to command, if he be a man of courage and not prone to be unnerved by adversity, nor be wanting in his preparations, and keep the mass under the spell of his spirit and his commands, he shall not find them fail him, and ultimately it will appear that he has built on a good foundation." Let the prince so act at all times that the people may learn to value his personality and regard it as essential to their wellbeing, and he may rest assured of their fidelity. The power of the prince thus depends on the goodwill of the people, though the people may have no active share in the government. This is a sane judgment, and shows that Machiavelli's prince, even when though

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popularly elected he carries on the government without popular co-operation, is bound in his own interest to pursue the commonweal. But he by no means limits the political capacity of the people to the general acquiescence in the support of the rule of a popular prince. In the "Discourses" he ascribes to the people a distinct capacity for definite co-operation in the work of government. With him, as with the ancients, the State is the creation of the great legislator—a Lycurgus, a Solon, a Romulus,—rather a fanciful idea for a modern, as Rousseau, who tried to legislate for Corsica and Poland, found. But the legislator must allow for the co-operation of the people in the maintenance of the State. Machiavelli has, in fact, a high opinion of the capacity of the people in what relates to public affairs. It is, as a rule, wiser—more judicious and less fickle—than the prince, in spite of the opinion of Titus Livy to the contrary. Though the prince is superior to the people in legislation, the people is superior to him in maintaining the public good—is, for instance, the fitter of the two for the election of magistrates. It will hardly ever be persuaded to entrust a magistracy to an infamous man; the prince may easily do so. The prince is naturally inclined to seek his own interest, the people that of the commonwealth.

It is, indeed, difficult to realise that the man who writes the following panegyric of the people and popular government in the "Discourses" is the staunchest champion of absolute government in the "Prince." "It is not without reason that the voice of a people is compared to the voice of a god, for we see that a universal opinion produces marvellous effects by its prognostications, so that it seems as though the people had the occult gift of foreseeing its evil and its good." "Those cities wherein the people is lord make the greatest increase in the shortest time, and far greater than has ever happened in those States which are under a prince. . . . And although princes are superior to peoples in ordaining laws, forming civil institutions, making statutes, new regulations, peoples are so superior in the maintenance of organised things that they undoubtedly add to the glory of those who first organised them." "It is not the good of the individual but the good of the community that constitutes the greatness of cities and re-

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publics. And it is beyond doubt that it is only in republics that the common welfare is observed. . . . When there is a prince, it happens, on the contrary, that that which is good for him is hurtful to the city, and that which is good for the city is hurtful to him ; so that, directly tyranny has taken the place of free institutions, the least evil that can happen to that city is that it should make no further progress in power and riches."

The writer rises to generous enthusiasm as he recalls the great deeds of republican Romans like Cincinnatus and Marcus Regulus, whose patriotism, simplicity, probity, devotion to the service of their country strike a keenly responsive chord in the otherwise astute and opportunist philosopher. Only free institutions, popular government, could produce characters like these. Monarchy, far less absolute monarchy, does not breed the highest virtues. Absolute monarchy is only defensible, nay indispensable, when it is necessary to reunite a nation or found a State—as an extraordinary expedient, that is. It is not good as an ordinary form of government, is hurtful in the long-run ; for if the absolute monarch, the founder of the State, does not resign the government to the people, or at least does not share it with them, as does the King of France with his Parliament, the consequences to the State are evil. A dictatorship like that of the Romans may be useful, but only if it is temporary and legally limited. Unlimited power is always hurtful.

And yet he does not shrink, even in the "Discourses," from investing his legislator with absolute power as the creator of the State. With Machiavelli the State is not a growth but a mechanism, and in his capacity as maker of a State the legislator is superior to all moral laws—in the "Discourses" as well as in the "Prince." If State necessity requires the commission of crimes—the massacre of opponents, for instance —he must ruthlessly commit them. He must be equal to any action, however unscrupulous, in order to attain his end. As this embraces the good of the whole, the interest of the few has no claim whatever to recognition. Their lives are of no value whatever. It is not what should be, but what is, according to the teaching of history, that Machiavelli sets before us. He is terribly logical, yet he is enigmatic. He

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accepts one set of facts in one connection to discard them ruthlessly in another. His brutal realism repels us, but we derive some consolation from the fact that he at least contradicts himself. While, for instance, enunciating the most brutal maxims of despotism in respect of the end in view—the establishment or preservation of the State—he admits that unlimited power is hurtful, and denounces in no unmeasured language the despot who sacrifices the interest of the State to his own personal advantage. Let such a ruler take warning from the reigns of the bad emperors of Rome. "He will see Rome in flames, the capitol demolished by the hands of the citizens, the ancient temples desolate, all ceremonies corrupted, the cities full of adulterers; he will behold the sea covered with exiles, the shores stained with blood. In Rome he will see cruelties innumerable, and nobility, riches, honour, and, above all, virtue regarded as capital sins. . . . And doubtless, if he be born of woman, he will feel terror of any imitation of bad times, and will be inflamed by an immense desire to follow those that were good."

The moralist speaks sometimes even in Machiavelli, though we may perhaps in the next sentence be shocked by the relapse into the most sweeping contradiction of such teaching, in the attempt to invest his prince, in the pursuit of State ends, with a political conscience that is truly diabolic. The prince should eschew evil by the example of a Nero, and yet in the same breath Romulus is pronounced a model statesman because he murdered his brother Remus and Titus Tatius Sabinus. The end, Machiavelli will reply, justifies the means in politics. Unfortunately, he might find examples enough, in modern as well as ancient history, to justify his belief; but he might at least have qualified the admission by the reminder that even history is not the decisive arbiter in such questions. History, in the Machiavellian sense, is no infallible guide. It does not show that the unscrupulous statesman always attains his end, even when his object is the good of the State. It shows equally that he may fail to do so. If some succeed, that is no reason for making their success the rule. It is only to a degenerate age that the following dictum, for instance, can commend itself: "When it is an absolute question of the welfare of our country, we must admit of no con-

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siderations of justice or injustice, of mercy or cruelty, of praise or ignominy; but, putting all else aside, we must adopt whatever course will save its existence and preserve its liberty." In that case a Louvois, in turning the Palatinate into a desert, was a meritorious statesman, although all mankind condemns the deed. And certainly any one who would to-day conduct a war on this principle would be decried as a monster. We have learned some things, even from history, since Machiavelli wrote, and among them we have learned that the barbarous methods of mediæval and ancient times are not sacred canons of statesmanship binding on posterity. We will hardly go the length of selling our souls, as Machiavelli insists, even for our country.

While republican in sympathy, Machiavelli has evidently lost all hope of regenerating Italy by means of the republican form of government. Corruption is so rampant that nothing but the strong, unscrupulous arm of the absolute ruler can avail to deal effectively with it. It is difficult to maintain the republic in a corrupt city, impossible to recreate it. It may be the best form in a country like Switzerland, and he is unstinted in his admiration of the strong military confederacy that flourished among the Alps, and had retained its simplicity and freedom unalloyed by the corruption of its neighbours. Machiavelli represents in fact the reaction against republicanism as practised in Italy, and is driven by force of facts, especially in the "Prince," to advocate the strong monarchy, on the model of France or Spain, as the only panacea for the ills of Italy. The strong man alone can make of Italy a nation, though he opines that in those parts in which feudalism has been crushed there is still such a spirit of equality that any sagacious man, with some knowledge of the ancient civilisations, could easily introduce free institutions, if only he would appear. But, as he will not appear, there is no hope but in an adventurer like Cæsar Borgia, who will not shrink from all the excesses required by the situation. It is a terrible commentary on the miserable state of Italy that Machiavelli can only find its regenerator in a Borgia. He may be pardoned if he is inclined, in view of this state of things, to throw his republican creed overboard, as far as Italy is concerned. The republic, in Italy at any rate, will never establish a united

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fatherland, nor drive out the invader; never succeed in ruling even a small city State like Florence. Even Venice appears unfitted for so large a *rôle*. Florence and other city States, he tells us, have failed because they have tried to govern on wrong principles. More especially have they erred in not admitting subject cities to a share of power. Florence has held Pisa in bondage, and Pisa has never ceased to rebel and jeopardise the State. The lack of the representative principle as regards its subject population is thus, with Machiavelli as with Guicciardini, the cause of the fall of Florence. With both, a monarch is more likely to consider the interests of such populations than a republic, which seeks to maintain its supremacy at the expense of the liberty of its conquered subjects. It is the heaviest servitude to serve a republic like Florence, as Pisa has experienced, and by not conciliating its subject cities it laid itself open to the constant menace of disintegration. All the same, Machiavelli is ready enough to crush liberty, even to the extent of extermination, if it militates against the interests of the State that he would fain found. He might have gone further and pointed out that faction within the city itself rendered permanently effective government impossible, and that in this respect Venice, though an oligarchy, succeeded where Florence failed. Moreover, he has failed, through his lack of truly democratic sympathies, to put his hand on the weakest spot of the Florentine democracy, so-called. With him the republic is only in reality a nominally popular government, the *régime* of a certain section of citizens, as against oligarchy or monarchy. He leaves too much out of account the fact that the refusal to satisfy the aspirations of the mass, as distinct from the class, within the ruling city, was equally suicidal to the stability of the State. This policy gave the mass no stake in the existence of the republic. It left the plebs no alternative but to play the *rôle* of the tool of the political adventurer, the blind instrument of the despot.

Machiavelli has some room for reform in his State, though he dislikes innovation. But he limits it to a return to the past. "Those alterations are salutary which bring States back to their first principles." He is in fact too much tied to the past, and he therefore contributes nothing to the political and social emancipation of the people in the larger sense.

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The problem does not seem to have suggested itself to him, for his State, whether republican or monarchic, is merely the revival of the State of republican or imperial Rome under a modern national form. He is satisfied if he can attain political unity such as has been attained in France or Spain. This attained, he would not improve on ancient institutions in the direction of popular emancipation in the modern sense. He was too narrowly antique, too prematurely born, to see the world with more modern eyes. He has in fact failed to rise to the idea of progress, and in this respect his study of history is particularly barren and one-sided. At most he sees only progress in cycles, the eternal iteration of what has been. Man has been, is, and will be ever the same, and his history will never advance beyond itself. The past is the measure of the future. There is no improvement, only change. Evolution is unknown to him. Moreover, man is not good, but essentially bad, as Luther and Calvin were insisting, or about to insist, in their new theological fashion. Man is only good if he is obliged to be it, and this being so, he cannot be depended on to reform himself. He sees in history no trace of the essential goodness that raises mankind into the higher divine life. Of this higher life he knows nothing. He closes his eyes to those great movements which have been initiated and carried to great results by the unselfish devotion of masses of men. For him there is no gospel of self-denial and passionate self-surrender to the ideal to transform the world and lead it step by step to higher things. He does not indeed overlook the part that Christianity has played in the world, but he has no relish for Christian virtue compared with pagan virtue, and mediæval Christianity certainly had little claim to be regarded as a regenerating force in the world. In Machiavelli's day no thinking man had anything but contempt for it. Rome was a scandal even in the Italy of the fifteenth century. Humanity does not develop in good or in evil. Its path is no ascent, but a dead level, which the moderns tread, as the ancients have trodden before them. Progress, reform, are limited by the past. If so, humanity might well despair, with Machiavelli, of the future, though from a different reason. If antiquity had attained the limit of emancipation for the mass, the mass had ample justification for its despair. Happily,

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the mass was to find other exponents of history than Machiavelli, and in his English contemporary, Sir Thomas More, it could claim a champion, who moved in a very different world of political thought and inspiration from that of the philosopher of San Casciano.

Like Machiavelli, More views politics from the secular standpoint, though this standpoint is the level of his own noble mind. The intellect and tone of the two writers differ as widely as the real and the ideal. Machiavelli is scientific; More philanthropic. Machiavelli seeks to govern men; More to improve them. More moralises; Machiavelli scarcely ever. More's State is founded and governed on principles of justice and humanity; Machiavelli cares more for the *raison d'état* than for justice and humanity. In communion with the former we breathe the atmosphere of a finely-toned mind, which reflects the dictates of a generous heart. With the latter we are among political schemers, to whom politics is not so much the study of human happiness as a system of colossal egotism.

More is a publicist of extraordinary boldness, considering time and circumstances. There might be universal jubilation over the accession of Henry VIII., but More did not shut his eyes to the evil side of the new monarchic government. In the ill-disguised *rôle* of the romancer he stands forth as the militant social and political reformer. He is no mere dreamer of communistic dreams, of fancy States, and it hardly needed an Erasmus to tell us that "Utopia" was written to expose the social and political abuses rampant among the European nations. The fact must be apparent to even the superficial reader. Hence its practical as well as its literary interest. It is alike one of the most finished productions of humanism, and a monument of the quickened intellectual life which was being turned to the criticism of institutions as well as books. It is replete with the instinct, the aspiration, of liberty; and More, in criticising the unjust expedients of the early Tudor monarchs, shows himself the fearless opponent of a system which the anarchy of the Wars of the Roses had otherwise made both popular and necessary. It is permeated by the keen, inquisitive spirit which was seeking satisfaction in the adventurous discovery of new lands

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beyond the ocean, as well as in exploring old manuscripts. It was written in Latin, and published in the beginning of 1516, but it is best known in Robinson's quaint translation, which appeared in 1551, and has all the charms of the English of More's own time.

More had both personal and public reasons for hating some of the abuses of arbitrary government which he so skilfully assailed. He had opposed Henry the Seventh's exorbitant demand for an aid on the occasion of the marriage of his daughter Margaret with James IV., in the Parliament of 1503. The Commons were about to comply, when young More (he was only twenty-five, and was probably the youngest member present) rose and spoke so forcibly against it that they offered £30,000 instead of £115,000. Henry was very angry with the rising young London lawyer, whose eloquence had wounded him in a very vulnerable point—his love of money. He took his revenge on his father, whom he threw into the Tower, and only released on payment of a fine of £100. During the remainder of his reign More's prospects were blighted by the king's hostility, and he had some thoughts of turning monk. He lived in constant apprehension of his life, and sought consolation in the ardent study of the classics, and in writing epigrams against tyranny, and in praise of constitutional government. It is not surprising, therefore, that he rejoiced at the death of his oppressor and greeted the accession of Henry VIII., from whom he had reason to expect more just treatment, in verses of exuberant congratulation. His advance under the new king's patronage was rapid. He was made Under Sheriff of London and a Commissioner of Sewers, sprang into a lucrative practice at the bar, and in 1515 became a member of a political embassy to the Netherlands. Utopia is a fact professedly made known to him while at Antwerp, where he meets the Portuguese traveller, Raphael, who was introduced to him by Peter Giles, a citizen of that town, and relates his adventures among the Utopians. He had, however, by this time ample inducement for the composition of "Utopia," on public as well as private grounds. The French war of Henry VIII. had exhausted the treasure left by his father, and drained the country of large sums in the shape of taxes. The exhaustion of the nation

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was evidenced by large arrears of taxation, and, to meet the deficit, Parliament in 1515 increased the income tax, which was levied even on the wages of labourers. It regulated these wages to the exclusive advantage of the employer, in the spirit of the old labour statutes, for the war had the effect of limiting the supply of labourers, while the practice of turning arable land into sheep pasture, in spite of enactments to the contrary in 1489, and again in 1515, led to the ejection of the peasantry on many estates. The return of disbanded soldiers swelled the proletariat. The inevitable result was the increase of crime and misery throughout the land. Utopia is an exposure and a denunciation of the demoralising effects of these evils.

Kings and courtiers became forthwith the butt of More's irony. Peter Giles discovers in Master Raphael the very man to counsel kings and place his knowledge at the service of the commonwealth. "I wonder greatly," marvels Peter, "why you do not get into some king's court?" Raphael disdains to give himself in bondage to a king or to join the crowd that sue for great men's friendship. Nay, but, interjects More, a man of your parts should apply your wit to the profit of the wealpublic, and this you can best do by putting into the head of the prince honest opinions and virtuous persuasions. So much labour lost, returns Raphael, for princes delight in war and feats of chivalry rather than in the arts of peace. Their councillors are all wise men who need no advice except from flatterers. If a man were to suggest something new that he had read or seen in other places, why, then, in order to save their wisdom, they must needs find fault, or take refuge in the last resort of stupidity—the wisdom of our forefathers. Therewith they stop a man's mouth. And yet they leave the best of the decrees of our forefathers unapplied, and if anybody suggests improvement they merely pooh-pooh them.

In all this More was indulging in a piece of self-revelation as well as hitting at the obtuseness of kings and ministers. No man ever showed less willingness to enter on a public career and play the courtier. It was because he felt the hopelessness of attempting to realise his ideas that he long refused to enter the royal service, and only reluctantly complied at last. His indebtedness to Cardinal Morton, of "Morton's Fork" fame, his benefactor in his boyhood and early manhood,

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leads him, however, to make an exception in his favour, and to put in Raphael's mouth a panegyric of the man to whom England owed the policy which ended the Wars of the Roses and united the Houses of York and Lancaster.

Utopia is the complete antithesis of the "Prince," and, had it been written later, might be taken as a set reply and an antidote to it. Its author has nothing but scorn for the villainy that passed for international politics and the oppression that constituted government. Philosophers, he opined, should employ their wisdom for the instruction of kings. Commonwealths, he argues, quoting Plato, obtain felicity if philosophers be kings and if kings give themselves to the study of philosophy. To speak truth to kings, returns Raphael incredulously, would be to make oneself a laughing stock. And then he introduces us to the court of the French monarch, where the courtiers are busy hatching a conspiracy to conquer Milan, Naples, Venice, Flanders, Burgundy, and racking their brains to find expedients to this end—how, for instance, to bribe the Emperor Maximilian, King Ferdinand, and the Swiss, and how to win over the English and keep the Scots in readiness to checkmate them in case they turn hostile. Master Raphael's advice to the King of France, and indirectly to the King of England as well, is not to study how to get more territory, but how to govern that which was already too large to be well governed by one man, not to disturb and afflict Europe by the constant alarms and miseries of war, but to enrich and make France flourishing and endear himself to his subjects, rather than waste the revenue in war and destroy his people. "This, mine advice, Master More," concludes Raphael, "how, think you, would it not be hardly taken?" "So, God help me, not very thankfully," his listener is forced to reply.

From international politics More turns to internal government, and comes down on the devices by which Henry VII. made the administration the art of enriching the king at the expense of the people. Witness the expedients of monarchs for raising money. One device is for the king to raise the value of money when he must pay any, and diminish it when payment is due to him, so that he may pay a large sum with a few coins, and receive much more than is his due. Another

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trick is to feign war, obtain supplies, and then make peace under pretext of compassionating his poor subjects, while in reality robbing them. Another, equally lucrative, is the revival of "certain old and moth-eaten laws" which all the world has forgotten, and consequently all the world has broken, and the imposition of a fine for its lack of memory. Another is to forbid many things under heavy penalties, and then sell the privilege of breaking the law to certain individuals for great sums. Still another is to suborn the judges to wrest the law and declare for the king in all suits to his profit, whether he have justice on his side or not, on the understanding "that a king, though he would, can do nothing unjustly." For is it not, he sarcastically asks, most for the king's advantage that his subjects have very little or nothing in their possession? Doth not poverty sap a man's courage and keep him from rebellion? The whole practice of the art of government on such principles is vicious and detestable. The welfare of the people is the true end of government, for it is ridiculous to assume that a people in choosing a king consulted his interest and not its own. The kingship must stand by its merits, for More, like Fortescue, knows of no other test. It has neither dignity nor claim to fealty if it makes a nation poor and wretched. "The commonalty chooseth their king for their own sake, and not for his sake, to the intent that through his labour and study they might all live wealthy, safe from wrongs and injuries, and . . . therefore the king ought to take more care for the wealth of his people than for his own wealth, even as the office and duty of a shepherd is to feed his sheep rather than himself." Otherwise, "he knoweth not the feat how to govern men." The king is not exempt from the obligation of the moral law, from the claims of honour and justice, any more than a private individual. Moreover, power cannot make up for the absence of character. Moral excellence is true dignity, real power. But More knows the world too well to deceive himself with the expectation that his ideal can be put in practice. "In the counsels of kings," reflects he sadly, "these things have no place." Nevertheless, the good citizen must strive to prevent evil as far as he can. He must not forsake the ship in a tempest because he cannot rule and keep down

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the winds. "That which you cannot turn to good, so order that it be not very bad, for it is not possible for all things to be well, unless all men were good, which I think will not be yet these good many years." Still he clings to the ideal even in the eternal conflict with the real, and if he cannot rectify the world, as he would, he can solace his own mind, and mayhap teach the world by constructing, with the help of Plato, his own commonwealth.

Our author not merely exposes the tyranny and misgovernment of absolute or would-be absolute kings; he attacks the class selfishness that cares nothing for the general welfare and makes a god of self-interest at the expense of the interest of the masses. Raphael, on the other hand, has an eye for the general interest, and would drastically reform the abuses that make the masses the victims of convention and selfishness. He would carry reform even the length of revolution, for Utopia involves nothing less than a clean sweep of every institution, every law, every abuse incompatible with the rights of man, as the citizen of a free State, founded on principles of justice and benevolence, not of mere tradition. He would, for instance, abolish war and standing armies; would reform the criminal law, which by its fatuous severity engenders instead of lessening crime; would introduce convict labour as a substitute for hanging; would clear the lazy monks out of the monasteries and make them work; would even place the family under strict State regulation; would build beautiful, salubrious cities, and reduce the hours of labour; would substitute a happy, industrious, contented peasantry for a nation of beggars and criminals. He would, in particular, make short work of the agrarian evils—the practice of turning arable land into sheep-walks, the vicious system of enclosures which Parliament had vainly tried to remedy by statute—as so many expedients to impoverish and demoralise the people for the benefit of an oligarchy of wealth and greed. Curtailment of work, increase in the price of provisions, vagabondage, beggary, crime, deterioration of morals, are the abuses resulting from the covetousness of the few, who have a monopoly of the land and control the markets as they please. Unless this injustice be remedied, unless husbandry and cloth-making be restored, what folly to try to amend matters by excessive

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punishments! "For what other thing do you than make thieves and then punish them?"

Utopia is, of course, a democratic State. Slavery is not unknown among its inhabitants, but there is no servile class, no large mass incapable of political rights. More's idea of the people is remarkably large, and has outstepped the limits of mediæval and ancient times. The bondmen are those who lose their freedom for heinous offences, or have been condemned to death in foreign lands and bought off by the Utopians. They are thus confined to the criminal class. Only the criminal who has forfeited them by his lawlessness has no social or political rights. In this Utopian democracy the prince holds his office by election, and may forfeit it by reason of tyranny. He is assisted by a number of councillors, who choose him from a leet selected by the people. Local affairs are managed by local magistrates, who also owe their office to election by each thirty families. Conspiracy against the commonwealth is punished by death, and, in order to obviate it, no consultation is permissible outside the council chamber or the place of common election. Every weighty question is referred to the people by the local magistrate, and public spirit is nurtured by means of this confidence, which maintains interest in the commonweal. More is shrewd enough to foresee that the best ruled State is that in which an enlightened public opinion flourishes. But popular legislation does not mean hasty legislation. No measure can be passed in a hurry; it must be subjected to exhaustive debate. Evidently, the system of packing parliaments and intriguing for selfish interests, at the expense of the general welfare, is capable of amendment in the eyes of our democratic philosopher.

More's religion, as reflected in Utopia, is that of an enlightened and tolerant man who has emancipated himself from the theological narrowness of the age to an extraordinary degree. In him the humane tone of the Renascence reaches a very high place. There is variety of religion in Utopia, or rather of religious forms, for all are agreed as to the nature of God as a sovereign being, though they worship Him variously. They show great eagerness to adopt Christianity, yet they dislike hot-headed proselytism, and condemn to exile the

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Christian convert who rails at the old cult and causes sedition among the people. Diversity of opinion and liberty of disputation in things theological is a fundamental law. "This is one of the ancientest laws among them—that no man shall be blamed for reasoning in the maintenance of his own religion." A most bold assertion truly in the face of the heresy laws and inquisitions of his own century. He is most explicit on the inherent right of every man to freedom of conscience and speech. King Utopus decreed that it should be lawful for every man to favour and follow what religion he would. Violence and angry contention in the propagation of religious opinion are punished by banishment or bondage. Truth must be its own witness and vindicator. Free thought is an inviolable privilege, and More would only stop short at the denial of the immortality of the soul. Even in this extreme case a man shall not be punished for his opinion, though he may not hold office in the commonwealth. For the rest, More's religion is pervaded by a firm belief in a future life, in the providential arrangement of the world and its affairs, especially in Utopia, and is marked by a beautiful serenity of soul that is the best proof of the power of creed. The priests are married, and even women may exercise this office! Toleration and innovation could hardly go further than this.

Yet More was to prove false to his own principles after the Reformation movement had begun to trouble the land with contention and strife. Unfortunately, he gave proof in his own person, as the persecutor of the Protestants during his tenure of the chancellorship, that Utopia was too theoretic in this as in other respects for practical application. To speak of "the pestilente secte of Luther and Tyndale," as he does in "A Dialogue of Sir Thomas More, Knighte," was unworthy of the author of Utopia. Unworthy, too, of the man who ridiculed the pedantry of the schoolmen, as well as championed freedom of thought, to commend the burning of Tyndale's New Testament. Equally so the defence of the burning of heretics by the secular power—an expedient which, of course, absolves the Church from all blame in the gruesome business. It may be said, in his vindication, that as chancellor he was bound to enforce the law against heretics. But even the chancellor ought to have found means of evading a

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barbarous law, and at any rate he was not bound to assume the *rôle* of apologist of bigoted, bloodthirsty bishops, and defend the savage repression of religious opinion, which in Utopia he had condemned so emphatically. He was, alas, destined in his own person to experience the bitterness of that intolerance from which, in his later years, he could not free himself. If he could not tolerate Protestantism, he had at least the strength of will and conviction to become the martyr of that coercion of conscience by a despotic, self-willed ruler before which Catholic and Protestant must alike bend or break. It is to his eternal honour that he carried his opposition to an arbitrary king the length of dying on the scaffold for his convictions.

That More did not intend all his opinions to be applied in serious legislation is evident from the closing sentence. "I must needs confess that many things be in the Utopian wealpublic which in our cities I may rather wish for, than hope after." Its practical effect in accentuating the reaction against the oppressive agrarian system is, however, perceptible in Wolsey's measures against enclosures in 1518 and 1526, though these measures were, unfortunately, largely ineffective. The value of his work as a political treatise does not lie so much in the suggestions it makes, as in the criticisms it offers. It is a noble protest against the misgovernment and injustice of the age, the earnest appeal of a high-toned mind for reform on behalf of the toiling masses, and for a more unselfish spirit in legislation. The political immorality of the age, the spirit of class selfishness, the injustice of social conditions, the misery of the masses, are castigated with a fine wit and a generous indignation. Utopia is the mirror of a humane and philanthropic spirit held up, with fine effect, to the crass realism to which true religion and humanity are antagonistic. We may, I think, claim its author as an apostle of modern liberty, for by his anticipation of the future he belongs in many respects to the nineteenth rather than to the sixteenth century. We could quite well imagine him addressing a popular audience in these democratic times in the spirit of the modern humanitarian statesman. The limitation of the liberty of the individual, the absorption of both the family and the individual in the State, may grate on our inborn sense of personal freedom, and would

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certainly lead to an intolerable tyranny in sober practice. Utopia is not the final remedy for the ills of social life. This More himself admits, and his admission distinguishes him from the socialist doctrinaire who imagines that the salvation of humanity consists in the realisation of a certain system of social doctrine. The necessity of constructing a State on logical principles, of carrying out the communistic theory all through, compels him at times to fit himself into the *rôle* of the visionary rather than the practical statesman. It would none the less be a mistake to infer that the practical statesman was lost in the visionary. The practical instinct lurks, as we have seen, in almost every page. This is the main purport of the book, and we must make considerable allowance for the literary necessities of Utopia as a work of imagination. The author allows himself occasionally a good deal of poetic licence, for Utopia is poetry as well as criticism. But when its form is discounted it retains a precious worth as an earnest of better things for down-trodden humanity.

SOURCES.—Machiavelli, Il Principe, edited by L. A. Burd (1891); Il Principe e Discorsi sopra La Prima Deca di Tito Livio, with Introduction by Zambelli (1880). (There is an English translation of the "Prince" in Bohn's Library and Morley's Universal Library); Villari, Nicolò Machiavelli e i suoi Tempi (1877), English translation by L. Villari (1878-83); Burd, Florence: Machiavelli, in Cambridge Modern History (1902). The "Prince," though written in 1513, while Machiavelli was in exile at San Casciano, was not published till 1532, five years after his death. For Sir Thomas More see primarily Utopia (translation by Robinson, 1551); Seebohm, The Oxford Reformers (3rd edition, 1887); Hutton, Life of More; Lupton, Dean Colet.

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CHAPTER III.

THE REFORMATION—LUTHER AS REVOLUTIONIST.

THE Renascence was, as we have seen, an emancipation movement. It liberated the intellect from the thralls of tradition. The Reformation was also an emancipation movement. It liberated the individual soul from the authority of pope and hierarchy, and brought it into immediate relation to God. It, too, was a crusade in favour of liberty as the age of the Reformation understood liberty. The Reformation age might not fully understand its own principle. It could hardly be expected to do so. It was difficult for men to rise to conceptions which only the future was to develop. It was impossible, considering the circumstances, to organise a great reactionary religious movement without defining a creed and requiring its acceptance. If Protestantism was to hold its own in the struggle with the old Church, it was bound thus to organise, and in order to organise it was bound to systematise. Unfortunately, it did not learn that organisation, systematisation, did not necessarily require the persecution of opponents, whether Catholic or non-Catholic. It forgot that Christianity leaves room for toleration, and in its forgetfulness it was not only untrue to Christianity, it was false to its own principle. The liberation of the individual soul which it championed was, after all, only relative. Relative to the past, it might be a mighty step forwards. Relative to the future, it was but the beginning of progress. This is, nevertheless, all that we can expect. We have no right, historically, to demand that a Luther or a Calvin should see things in the light that only the evolution of four centuries has enabled us to see them. We can only regret the fact that they did not.

Historically, then, we must look at the emancipation movement implied in the Reformation as what it was—a movement in favour of liberty in principle, if not unreservedly so in

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practice. We must beware, however, of limiting the word liberty to religious liberty. The Reformation was a many-sided movement. We have called it an emancipation—the liberation of the individual soul from the authority of pope and hierarchy. In a general sense it was this. At the same time, the factors that made it, as well as the results it achieved, were complex. These factors were intellectual, political, social, even economic, as well as religious, and its effects were correspondingly wide. To the religious ferment of the age various influences contributed, and a deeper knowledge of the history of that age reveals their far-reaching effects on the nations of Western Europe. In our study of the movement in these lands we shall have occasion to learn, more or less, how complex it was both in its factors and in its effects. We shall see, for instance, how the intellectual temper of the time made itself felt in fomenting the spirit of revolt against the domination of religious tradition, and how it contributed that tone of culture and erudition that made the reformers great theologians as well as great preachers; how political sentiment or ideas gave strength to the cause of religious reform, and how that cause in turn affected political action and thought; how social and economic abuse tended to abet the demand for religious reform, and how the reaction against such abuse was in turn influenced by this demand. More especially, we shall see how this many-sided movement made for progress, if we shall also, unfortunately, have only too good reason to signalise its limitation in this respect.

Very noteworthy is the revolutionary character of the emancipation movement which we term the Reformation. Revolution is, in fact, as appropriate a name for it as Reformation. It was a complete breaking away from the Church of the past as represented by the pope. There was no compromise on this point in any of the lands where the Reformation triumphed. The pope was relentlessly deposed as the Antichrist. He must be content to be Bishop of Rome, and nothing more. The claim to the universal allegiance of Christendom was treated as a pretension, an usurpation. It had in fact never been recognised in the eastern half of the Christian world. In all reformed lands, with the exception of Scandinavia and England, the historical hierarchy was swept

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away with the papal jurisdiction, and even in Scandinavia and England, where the episcopal organisation was retained, its powers, its position, in the State were greatly modified. In doctrine, too, the change wrought by the Reformation amounted to nothing less than a revolution. The Augsburg Confession, the Institutes of Calvin, the Helvetic Confession, the Thirty-nine Articles, for instance, differ *in toto* from the Canons of the Council of Trent in such crucial points as the Sacraments, the supreme place of the Bible as the authoritative source of doctrine. So also in regard to usages. The worship of saints and relics, the confessional, monastic vows, &c., were swept away root and branch. And these changes were not achieved merely by preaching and conference on the part of the reformers, though preaching and conference played a great part in the making of them. The sword had its share in the drama as well as the word. Luther might deprecate the use of force, though even Luther in his earlier years, as we shall see, was less cautious in his language in this respect than he became later, and used very fiery speech in his trumpet call to the attack on tradition and abuse. He was, in truth, in spite of himself a prophet of revolution as well as reform. And violent enough was the work which he and his followers—lay and cleric—in Germany and other lands, set themselves to accomplish. Not only did it lead to great popular outbreaks—the result of religious zeal, which stripped the churches of their sacred furniture and burned and sacked the monasteries, as in Scotland and the Netherlands, or of semi-religious, semi-social aspirations which culminated in the Peasant War in Germany, —it eventuated, sooner or later, everywhere, in civil war—in Scandinavia, in Germany itself, in Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, England, and Scotland—during which Protestant fought against Catholic with other weapons than those of faith and suffering. Faith and suffering did their share for the cause, especially in the initial stage of its progress. But the time came everywhere, sooner or later, for the grimmer conflict of the battlefield, where the shock of armed hosts, arrayed for or against the Church, decided whether Protestantism or Roman Catholicism was to be the national creed. Political, social, economic issues might mingle with

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the religious one. The establishment or repression of the Reformation was, nevertheless, the result of an appeal to arms as well as an appeal to conscience. It was the work of the soldier as well as the martyr, whether the soldier were the veterans of a Condé, a Coligny, a William of Orange, or the armed rustics that responded to the battle-cry of a John Knox or a Zwingli. It was baptized in the blood not merely of the martyr heroes, but of the heroes of those fierce encounters in which Protestant and Catholic struggled to assert or defend the new or the old faith. From the point of view merely of bloodshed, violence, the religious wars, lasting from the first encounter between Catholic and Protestant at Cappel down to the dragonnades of Louis XIV., constitute the bloodiest revolution on record.

The revolutionary genius of the movement ultimately carried the reformers further than they would otherwise have preferred to go. Luther and his colleagues were, as we shall see, careful to preach submission to the powers that be. They banned, for example, the rising of the peasants against their taskmasters. Calvin, too, as we shall also see, had a deep veneration for the civil power. Luther and Calvin had need of its protection in the struggle to maintain the Protestant cause, and wherever it espoused that cause they were ready to recognise, and even exaggerate, the view that the prince, the magistrate, holds his office by divine right. They had no sympathy with popular revolutionary movements. They denied, indeed, that the prince, the magistrate, had the right to command anything contrary to the divine will. They absolved the subject in that case from yielding obedience. But they did not go the length of saying that the subject might actively resist. As time went on and the movement gained in strength, this doctrine would not hold in practice. Men came to see that, if Protestantism was to succeed, they must fight for its success against both prince and pope. They began to question the right of the persecutor to persecute, and to assert in opposition to it the right of the people to resist. The theorist came forward to denounce in many a fiery effusion the policy of coercion to the will of the persecuting ruler, and to vindicate, on grounds of reason, religion, and history, the claim to worship God in accordance with conscience, not as mere papal or

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princely power dictated. The schoolmen supplied them with arguments; they merely, in fact, for the most part, reiterated what had been written on this subject during the mighty conflict of pope *versus* kaiser, and contemporary history translated their arguments into fact in many a bloody encounter with the forces of absolute kings, who presumed to enforce their own will or the dicta of the pope on the champions of liberty as liberty was then understood.

It is difficult to say when the religious reformation began. Both within and without the Church the reformer and even the revolutionist had been busy for fully a century. Nay, throughout the Middle Ages he had periodically lifted up his testimony in some form or other against abuse and error in the Church. Charlemagne and Alcuin, Agobard of Lyons and Claudius of Turin, Abelard, St Bernard, Arnold of Brescia, Roger Bacon, St Francis, even St Dominic and many more, were reformers after their own fashion. More recently, the cause of reform had been championed by the great councils convened at Pavia, Constance, and Basle, in the first half of the fifteenth century. They attributed supreme authority to a general council over the pope, made and unmade several popes, and deliberated for long years at a stretch on "a reform in head and members." The scope of this reform can hardly be called revolutionary, though the dethronement of the pope from his absolute throne was certainly revolutionary enough. It was antipapal, not anti-hierarchical. It did not touch the doctrines of the Church; it was opposed to radical, democratic measures; it would have made the Church an ecclesiastical aristocracy instead of a papal theocracy. It would not tolerate a Hus, or a Wicklif, or other doctrinal anarchist. The Church must remain in doctrine and practice as it had developed on traditional lines.

Even this moderate reform ultimately proved impracticable. The deliberation of the Fathers of Pisa, Constance, and Basle had extremely little effect. The papacy rose phœnix-like from its ashes to wield all its old authority. The efficacy of these reforming efforts may be judged from the scandalous lives of most of the occupants of St Peter's throne in the latter half of the fifteenth century. A Sixtus IV., an Alexander VI., are bywords of infamy even in an age of infamies, both in the

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Church and in the world. Consequently the cry for reform continued to be heard, though the pope continued to enjoy the fruits of his victory without serious organised opposition. Here and there a zealous prelate, like Cardinal Cusanus in Germany, would try his hand at practical reform by means of provincial councils at Cologne, or Maintz, Salzburg, or Magdeburg. But abuse proved too strong for such isolated zeal and industry, and the growing immorality of clerical life, the scandalous traffic in benefices, the sordid worldliness of the clergy, the despairing outbursts of the popular preachers of the day, prove conclusively the incompetence of the hierarchy, in spite of reform movements, to eradicate abuses from the Church. The figure of a Savonarola reminds us that even in Italy the reformer within the Church was not unknown, but Savonarola's career ended, as we have seen, in tragic failure.

Within the religious fraternities, too, the aspiration after reform was very active throughout the century. It usually took a mystic form, as in the Brethren of the Common Life, and the Brotherhood of the Friends of God, in the Netherlands and Western Germany; but, though it militated against ecclesiastical abuses, it was not, as a rule, hostile to the Church. Occasionally its outcome was a crude religious pantheism, as in the case of the Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit, the Beghards, and other fraternities who outraged morality and parodied Christianity. From the Alps, too, where the Waldenses preserved the evangelical spirit in spite of the Inquisition, blew the breeze of reform, for the Waldenses had many adherents in Germany in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. But the existence of such fraternities or sects is important, rather as an indication of the reforming spirit than for any great effect in this direction. An Eckhardt, a Tauler, a Thomas à Kempis, a Wessel, a Pupper, were not the men to achieve what a Cusanus or a Savonarola failed to accomplish. The effective reformers were driven into a position of antagonism to the Church, and it was from without, not from within, that the reforming spirit found its most aggressive, its revolutionary expression. Wicklif and Hus, not Cusanus, or Gerson, or Savonarola, were the prophets of the modern reformation. They stormed the very citadel of the traditional Church. They challenged its doctrines as well as its institu-

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tions. How far Wicklif carried the attack on tradition we have already noted. The attack proved, as we have seen, premature. His English followers, the Lollards, were crushed by the decrees of a reactionary, persecuting Parliament. But, while the Lollards effected but a temporary and comparatively insignificant revolt in England, the Hussites produced a revolution which powerfully affected the age in which Luther appeared. Wicklif and Hus are the real precursors of Luther in their policy of breaking rather than mending what it was hopeless to try to repair. It was the age of religious reaction, to which these men had contributed so mighty an impulse, that produced Martin Luther. Without Wicklif and Hus, Luther might have been possible, for the Wittenberg reformer did not directly imbibe his reforming zeal or his theology from the theologian of Oxford or the martyr of Constance. The martyr of Constance was in truth too conservative in doctrine to be the father of the revolution launched from Wittenberg or Geneva. But without the age which produced a Wicklif or a Hus, and which these men in their turn helped to nurture, Luther would merely have proved one more martyr of priestly intolerance. We have heard much of the influence of great men, of "the heroes" of history to whom the progress of the world has been ascribed by Mr Carlyle and his disciples. Great men have undoubtedly achieved much that is "heroic," much for which humanity ought to be thankful. But, after all, it is usually the age that makes the man. This is particularly true of Luther. Revolutions are not made; they are developed, and a long process of attack and failure, of aggression and repression, of suffering and martyrdom, went to the development of the Lutheran Reformation.

I have said that the Reformation was a complex movement, both in its factors and its effects. Its factors were not merely religious, they were intellectual, political, social, even economic as well. We have already seen their operation, more or less, in the great reactionary and revolutionary movements of the fifteenth century. They come into even greater prominence in the movement led by Luther. No greater mistake, then, than to regard the movement to which Luther gave such an impulse as purely religious. True, there is a danger of underrating as well as overrating the factor of

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religious experience, or, as we might term it, the personal, the psychological factor. The religious experience of the individual soul was, indeed, responsible for much of the activity of a Luther, as of a Hus, a Wicklif. It shows us the revolt of the individual mind and soul from a traditional creed which, though sanctioned by all the prestige and power of the Church, could not satisfy the individual craving for truth and peace. It shows us, too, the revolt of conscience from the trafficking in sacred things which formed for the official hierarchy so large a part of religion. It brought the individual heart and conscience into direct relation with the Almighty, apart from priest or Church, and thereby called into play that element of personal conviction—conviction of personal sin, of personal justification by faith—based on the Bible and utterly incompatible with the artificial authority of pope or hierarchy. The experience of a Luther in his cell at Erfurt, struggling through a storm of doubt and despair to the haven of justification by faith, is, from this point of view, significant of much for the revolutionary trend of the age. In such a strong personality it was the harbinger of a revolution which could only end in the subversion of the mediæval Church in other parts of the empire besides Saxony. Without the spiritual struggle in the monk's cell at Erfurt there would have been no reformer of Wittenberg, and, though the reformer of Wittenberg profited by all the elements that made for reform, the movement, as far as he could influence it, remained essentially theological, spiritual. And if Luther narrowed it in accordance with his own personal experience, he at the same time lent it the intensity of the religious crusade. It was the psychological element, I repeat, that first and foremost made the Reformation "go" in Germany and other lands. In the case of Luther, as of other great religious leaders, the inward preceded the outward struggle—the searching of heart, the consequent feeling of estrangement from God, the conflict of doubt and despair, the study of the Scriptures, the apprehension of some great verity—in this case the doctrine of justification by faith,—the resultant force of conviction and the daring to do and suffer. It was this that made the martyrs of the sixteenth century, this that gave men and women by the thousand the courage to face the stake, and submit their

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bodies to the flames rather than recant. To work such changes as the reformers worked, the divine hiatus must stir the soul. The truth for which men resist and persist in the face of persecution must be to them the very command of God. Whether in reality it be always the very command of God is a different matter, but it must be conceived to be so, if the stake, the dungeon, the torture chamber, are not to prevail against it. No merely opportunist or pro-Romanist explanation of the Reformation that ignores this psychological factor is an adequate explanation. The Romanist in particular has a poor case when he attempts to discredit the spiritual experience of a Luther as that of an impostor, or rail at him as a renegade monk who broke his vows and rent the Church in twain in a spirit of mere contumacy and rebellion. To Luther, as to Luther's spiritual children in Germany and elsewhere it is the voice of God that speaks, and the voice of God must be obeyed before the command of man. It is the spiritual, the invisible, that is for them the main thing; the Church is a spiritual body, and the traditional has no authority as against conscience. This will be evident enough to unprejudiced minds as we follow the emancipating effects of this spiritual movement from land to land.

The personal, the psychological factor is most important, but it could not by itself have made the Reformation. The Church had always in the Middle Ages been too strong for individual conviction, because the age did not furnish the adjuncts for its successful assertion. At the beginning of the modern age, on the contrary, the chances were all in favour of the triumph of individual conviction, all against the maintenance of mere corporate, traditional authority. The religious reformation could count on the alliance of forces—intellectual, political, social—which no pope and no conclave could possibly repress. Reformation, revolution, was, in the age of the Renascence, in the very air that men breathed. Humanism, for example, begat the free temper that made reformation not only possible but imperative. It is indeed a narrow view that would ascribe the Reformation, as Mr Symonds does, to the humanist impulse pure and simple. Humanism was only, after all, one factor of the Reformation. But it was a very potent one. It was the powerful

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ally of progress against tradition, of enlightenment against obscurantism, of life against the rampant formalism in theology and philosophy. True, it might, and did to some extent, prove a weapon in the hands of the champions of tradition as well as progress. But the spirit of the age was too strong for the men halting between two opinions. The divine fiat had gone forth once more, Let there be light, and the dawn came as of old to quicken the world with a new life. Humanism led men to the Bible in the original Hebrew and Greek, revealed the fountain of Christian teaching flowing strong and clear beyond the mire of superstition and fraud with which the centuries had contaminated it. It led, too, to the translation of the Bible in the vernacular, and to the spread, through the printing press, of a popular literature in which the burning questions of the hour were debated in the language of the common man, in popular invectives and satires such as those of Hans Rosenplüt, Doctor Brant, Ulrich von Hutten, and many other poignant scribes. "What an age!" cried Ulrich von Hutten, "learning flourishes; the minds of men are awake; it is a joy to be alive." It was an age in which the spirit of criticism and opposition to things established was omnipresent. Even in theological circles before the advent of Luther there was hot contention between scholists and progressives, orthodox and heterodox, Reuchlinists and Dominicans, while in the schools the obscurantists waged a bitter warfare with the champions of the new culture and its aspirations and methods.

Very important is this appearance of the popular Bible, for the popular Bible put into the hands of the people the means of imbibing a theology which collided with that of the Church. And Luther's translation of the Bible into German was by no means the first. The issue of translation after translation in the vernacular in the latter half of the fifteenth century is indeed a characteristic of the time. The people, much to the chagrin of some of the bishops, read the Gospels and the Epistles for themselves. The men of tradition (though not all) might look askance at their Bible reading. Do we not hear of a peasant of Villingen, "who," says the chronicler, "could read and had learned the whole Bible by heart, and took to disputing with the parsons on texts of Scripture

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wherever he went"? The peasant of Villingen was not the only man of his class mighty in the Scriptures. In many parts of Germany the peasant and the artisan were ready not only to confront the priest with the demand for reform, but to back up the demand with a text of Scripture. And what if a Luther took to reading the Bible not merely in a translation but in the original? Traditional authority might appeal to schoolmen and fathers, but to the man who could read Greek and Hebrew the appeal was no longer conclusive.

Next to the psychological, the humanist factors, the Reformation owed not a little to political, social, and economic influences. If these influences played an influential part in the movements inaugurated by Wicklif and Hus, they played a still more important part in that led by Luther and those inspired by him in other lands. The formation of the modern nations made it certain that, sooner or later, national churches would arise to disrupt the universal Church, as these nations had disrupted the universal empire. The national spirit had become restive in Germany, as it had long been restive in France and England under the alien ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the pope. The pope drained the empire of vast sums by a multiplicity of pretexts. Germany was plundered from Rome and for Rome. While the Diet could with difficulty raise a few gulden for national purposes, the golden stream, swelled by the numerous tributaries of pallium money, annats, indulgences, and what not, flowed unceasingly Romewards. And the rapacity of the pope and his creatures exasperated because it affected all classes. The Church had become a mere financial institution for exploitation by foreigners. It was identified with a ruinous thraldom to a foreign power, which grated on the national spirit as well as drained the national wealth. What have we Germans to do with Rome? was the angry question which men put to themselves, and which Luther was to answer for them. And the scandalous declension of clerical morality was not fitted to increase their long-suffering with a Church whose oppressions seemed to rise in the ratio of its moral degeneracy. Even the disintegration of the empire played into Luther's hands. In the ratio that the empire had become weak, the princes, as we have seen, had grown strong, and the strong prince was to

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prove Luther's effective protector against a weak emperor, even though that emperor was the great Charles V. himself. Moreover, if it happened, as it occasionally did, that this emperor was the antagonist of the pope, he might even find a Charles V. among his indirect, if not his direct, patrons. Luther was a trump card for the politicians, whether imperial or princely, to play, on occasion, against a pontiff whose spiritual weapons of excommunication and interdict had long lost their edge. And we know enough of the social and economic grievances of the age to perceive that, on social and economic grounds, he could count on the adhesion of the masses. The masses were in truth ripe for social revolution as well as religious reformation, and their co-operation ere long became a source of embarrassment and danger to the spiritual movement initiated at Wittenberg.

However much Luther might seek to narrow the reform movement within the limit of his own spiritual experience, it was not possible to shake himself free from these political, intellectual, social influences of the time, and he in turn contributed by his reforming teaching and fervour to quicken these influences. He was or became, willingly or unwillingly, wittingly or unwittingly, the instrument, not merely of a religious reformation but of a many-sided revolution. He was the child of a new revolutionary age, though the age of revolution was by no means born with him. His mission could not be kept within the bounds of theology and ethics, must perforce touch the whole complexity of society. It must inevitably have a political bearing. Down with the Roman Antichrist, cried Luther. But the supremacy of the Roman Antichrist was incompatible with political as well as religious liberty, aroused the antagonism of the patriot as well as the religious reformer, and Luther is found inevitably standing on the same platform with Ulrich von Hutten. Nay, Luther played the patriot in this matter equally with the most militant anti-papal politicians, and it is not without reason that he bulks in the eyes of Protestant Germany as its greatest national hero. Even in the matter of internal politics he was destined to discover that he could not act an indifferent or theoretic part, and, after coquetting with the firebrands of the revolutionary party among the lesser nobility

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and holding out a helping hand to the peasants, he finally rallied to the party of the princes, his indispensable protectors. Again, his mission as a preacher of the gospel of justification by faith could not but get mixed up with the intellectual movement of the time. Luther as well as Reuchlin was the ally of the humanists in the attack on tradition. Obscurantism was the enemy of the gospeller as well as of the humanist. The preacher of the gospel and the humanist were brethren in the same cause, and therefore Luther was involved more or less in the movement of intellectual emancipation of which Erasmus, Hutten, and others were the prophets. Hence the strange spectacle, in this age of bitter antagonisms, of compromise or attempts at compromise, between men of radically different character and aspiration, between Luther and Hutten for instance, and for a time even between Luther and Erasmus. Nay, we even find that eclectic doctor, Christopher Scheurl, busy arranging a temporary friendship between Luther and Eck. Conservative reformers like Wimpfeling and Zazius were at first among his sympathisers. Humanist enthusiasts like the brilliant Mutianus were among his warmest admirers. In every university he found earnest supporters among the younger generation of scholars. It was Heidelberg, for instance, that gave him Philip Melancthon. For a time the preacher of the gospel from the monk's cell at Erfurt bade fair to become an apostle of humanism in spite of himself, the antagonist of the schoolmen in the pulpit as well as in the professor's chair. Luther and his humanist friends seemed to be working in the same cause.

Or take his appeal to the Bible. There, it might seem that Luther stood on strictly religious ground. From the Bible he adduced his doctrine of the justification of the individual soul by faith; from the Bible his doctrine of the priesthood of believers, the spiritual equality of all Christians—a doctrine which in respect of its levelling effects is comparable to Wicklif's doctrine of lordship. The Bible is the grand authority to which all men shall bow. There could surely be no dispute here. And yet men did dispute most fiercely over the teaching of the Bible, and draw conclusions widely different from those of Luther. There was not merely controversy between the champions of the new gospel and the

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adherents of the old Church. That was a foregone conclusion, and, even in the old Church, fathers, popes, schoolmen, had been known to quarrel most bitterly over points of scriptural doctrine and practice. There was disputation in the Protestant camp itself almost from the beginning. Justification by faith emphasises the relation of the individual soul to God, and soon the individual is found interpreting the Bible in a different sense from Luther. The spiritual priesthood of believers involves the idea of Christian equality, and demands a sweeping reform of society as well as the destruction of the traditional hierarchy. Thus, even as a theological movement, the Lutheran Reformation could not avoid stirring the waters of a widespread revolution, rousing into activity the individual mind and intensifying the social aspirations of the masses, striking on the anvil of Holy Writ the sparks of new and varied tendencies, forces in thought and action.

At first Luther was the attacking party. The work of construction came later, and during the period of attack the fierce fervour of battle carried him along, heedless of risks, oblivious of the ultimate bearing, effect of the struggle. He struck mighty blows against existing institutions, beliefs, practices. He acted the part of the revolutionist, and the revolutionist cannot usually gauge or control the movement he instigates. The striking fact of the early history of the Lutheran Reformation is just this revolutionary tendency, in spite of all that has been said about the cautious, conservative spirit and method of the reformer. It was only later that it became conservative, reactionary. The warrior spirit was roused by persecution to defiance and aggression. The "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation," which he fulminated in 1520, is a summons to the fray, and at the same time a justification of the cause for which the German nobility shall do battle. Rome is a second Jericho, and its threefold walls shall fall at the trumpet blast of the German "Adel." The three walls behind which Rome entrenches herself are the assumptions that the secular power has no authority over the spiritual, but is subservient to it, that the pope alone can authoritatively interpret the Scriptures, and that he alone can convene a general council. Behind these walls the pope seeks to shelter himself against any demand

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for reform; but, with the aid of the Bible, history, logic, Luther will prove that these artificial walls cannot stand before the trumpet blast of truth. In other words, he demands a radical sweep of all the papal sophistries for which Germany had paid so dearly in the past, a thorough reformation which shall re-establish true Christianity, and ensure complete freedom for the German nation from "the miserable, heathenish, unchristian *regimen* of the Pope." He even ventures to add an invective against the social abuses of the age—its luxury, its tyrannic capitalism, its usury, gluttony, drunkenness. "What fools are we Germans," he exclaims, again and again, in defiance of the pope, "to suffer these things!" Let us stand this papal befooling no longer. To what purpose does the kaiser bear the sword if he cannot rid us of "these Roman robbers," and give us back our old freedom? Awake, ye sleepy Germans, strike for the cause of God and Fatherland. It is certain that, whatever Luther's later views on the use of violent means in the cause of reform, he appears in this terrible philippic defiant and fierce in the extreme. He lashes himself at times into fury. His language is not only harsh but crass—in this age of cursing and swearing on both sides we must not be easily shocked. He seems ready to burst from his study with fire and sword against that "devil and antichrist at Rome, and all his followers." His spirit is that of a Zizka who will smite the enemy with the sword as well as the word. "Would we strive against the Turk, let us begin at home, for the worst Turks are in our very midst. Do we with reason hang thieves and cut off the heads of robbers? Why do we let off the Roman pilferer, the greatest thief and robber that has appeared, or shall appear, on earth?" He would not quite depose the pope, but he would not leave him a hundredth part of his power. The bishops, too, might survive, but the congregation is restored to its rights—is granted, more especially, the right to elect its pastor, who shall have liberty to marry.

The vigorous reasoning of this philippic is admirable. It would have been still more convincing to the modern mind if it had been less violent. Its style is indeed outrageous. One is tempted to conclude at times that Luther must either be swearing or praying. Fierce and dogmatic is the nature

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of him, and in this respect he is the incarnation of a fierce and contentious age. There is no quarter for the enemy, and in this wordy warfare vituperation is as legitimate a weapon as argument. Did he not indeed assert that it is not enough to pray well; the Christian must also learn to swear well. "When I say, 'Hallowed be Thy name,' I curse Erasmus and all who are against Thy word." The expletives he applies to his enemies would form a dictionary of themselves. The Psalms and the biographies of the saints are meek by comparison. He is superlative in the art of *schimpfen*, scolding, although he has had many competitors in a nation in which the art seems to be innate. It was in fact not peculiar to him or to Germany in this forcible age. His antagonists could give as good as they got, and the reformers everywhere were not distinguished for the sweetness of their tempers or the moderation of their language.

Two months later came another blast against the Roman Jericho in the shape of "The Babylonian Captivity of the Church." It is written in Latin, and is not so outrageous in tone, but it is even more revolutionary than its predecessor. It attacked the sacramental superstition which invested the priesthood, the hierarchy, with a subtle tyranny over the soul. It struck a vital part, for the power of the mediæval Church rested on the sacraments. By the sacraments she enthralled the life of man. Of the seven sacraments Luther would retain two, or at most three—baptism, the Lord's Supper, and perhaps penitence—and these only because they were divinely instituted. The rest are priestly contrivances to keep the soul in bondage. And the Lord's Supper is by no means synonymous with the mass—that fable of a miracle-working priesthood, imagined in the ages of crassest ignorance, and foisted on the world as the teaching of Christ. In the Scriptures, on the other hand, there is no transubstantiation, and no hierarchy distinct from the body of Christian believers. "In the matter of the mass and the sacrament we are all equal, priests and laymen." It is faith and not rite that makes a man a Christian. And yet the pope and the hierarchy have for several centuries held the world in bondage by such cunningly devised doctrines. See ye not, ye German simpletons, he cries in effect, that ye are the slaves, the

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captives, of a tyrannic hierarchy, whose tyranny is based, not on the word of God but on the devices of men? Read the Bible and be free. "This I say, that neither pope, nor bishop, nor any other man, has the right to prescribe a single syllable to any Christian without his consent."

This idea of Christian freedom he works out in his own theological fashion in "The Freedom of a Christian Man," which appeared shortly after. "The Christian man is free," he insists, and the root of his freedom lies in faith. It is faith that justifies, frees the soul from sin, makes it victorious over life and death. Over against the hierarchical priesthood he places the spiritual priesthood of believers, the equal status before God of those who live by faith. Once more he inveighs against the slavish notion of a privileged caste among Christians. "If you ask, What is the difference between priest and layman? I answer, Holy Scripture knows no other difference than that it calls those who teach, ministers, servants, stewards, who are instituted to preach faith and Christian freedom to other Christians. But there has arisen such a worldly, external, pompous, fearful priestly dominion in the Church, as if the laymen were something different from Christian people, and thereby we are deprived of freedom, faith, Christ Himself, and are become the victims of human ordinance and device, slaves of the most worthless men on earth."

Thus, whether he uses the language of popular invective, or of the theological controversialist, or the mystic divine, Luther preaches a gospel which involves a revolution, and bids fair, considering the circumstances of the age, to set the world ablaze. He attacks the pope, demolishes the hierarchy, appeals to the individual believer. And his words were not wasted on his generation. Four thousand copies of his address to the German nobility sold at once. Edition after edition carried the daring challenge to Rome over the land. The "De Captivitate," being in Latin, was less fitted to raise a sensation, but it found an anonymous and surreptitious translator in the following year in Thomas Mürner, who hoped by this device to discredit the reformer with the people. The people did not fall into Mürner's trap, and eagerly read the title-deed of its spiritual emancipation. The numerous

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editions of "The Freedom of a Christian Man" further made it evident that the would-be reformer was also the most popular of writers. Like Ulrich von Hutten, Luther could say, *Vivat libertas! Jacta est alea.*

And Luther proved his mettle in the arena of action as well as in the arena of controversy. When it came to the actual alternative of submission or rebellion he did not belie his creed, even when the papal bull was hurled at his head by Eck in September 1520. In December, in the presence of the Wittenberg students, and at the spot outside the walls where the oak tree now casts its shade, he threw the papal bull into the flames. "Because thou hast vexed the soul of the Holy One of God, so may the eternal fire consume thee." Truly a heroic act, which proclaims in the face of Christendom that there was one man in the world who would no longer bow the knee to the Baal of papal tyranny. Reformer is too weak a word to designate this man, who, with all the force of a dogged nature, inspired as he firmly believed by God, thus braved the power of convention or conviction, which for a thousand years had made the pope a god on earth. If he is not at this moment a revolutionist, I know not what he is. For Luther, this so-called god on earth has no more authority to dictate than any other mortal. Christ is the only dictator that he recognises in matters of conscience. Nay, in matters of conscience he will not even give way to the emperor and the Diet, in whom the secular power of Germany is embodied. To no dictator, spiritual or temporal, will he submit, if the truth of God and the salvation of his soul are in question. The war to the knife with ecclesiastical tyranny, begun at Wittenberg, was continued at Worms, even in the presence of the pope's henchman, the mighty, imperial Charles V. At Worms, too, Luther stood before the august assembly of magnates, spiritual and temporal, presided over by the emperor, as the inflexible champion of the spiritual independence, the divine right, of the individual Christian. As a mere act of personal courage, his refusal to recant, like that of Hus at Constance, is splendid. The impressiveness of the scene is mightily enhanced when we see in the intrepid heretic the champion, not merely of himself but of the highest rights of humanity, of freedom of thought, liberty of conscience. What right has

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pope or priest, or even kaiser or diet, to dictate to me what I shall believe, in defiance of the convictions of my inmost soul? Is not God superior to pope or kaiser, the eternal to the vain show of human power, whether begotten of priestcraft or statecraft? This is the question that Luther answers with a sublime simplicity as he faces the pomp and splendour of the assembled Diet. "Here I stand, I can do no other; God help me!" are words of gold in the history of liberty. In them the tyranny of priestly tradition received a mortal stroke. Hus had indeed spoken as inflexibly in defence of conscience, but tradition proved too strong for Hus. The champion became the martyr of liberty. To Luther another destiny was reserved, and great things for the world depended on this reservation.

This bellicose spirit in defiance of the pope was after the heart of a man like Ulrich von Hutten, next to Luther the most militant spirit of the age in the battle for emancipation from Rome. Strangely different from, yet in some points analogous to, that of Luther had been the life of this knightly protagonist of the political ideal of humanism in Germany. Unlike Luther, he belonged to the order of the lesser nobility, had been destined by his father for the Church. He had been educated in the monastery of Fulda, but the cloister life had no fascination for him as it had for Luther, and in 1505, at the age of seventeen, he fled out into the world, to live for several years the life of a vagabond as wandering student and poet. "There is nowhere," he said, "I like to live so well as everywhere." Sometimes he was reduced to beg, and sleep under the skies; sometimes he would enjoy for a brief season a spell of good things under the protection of some kindly patron. He, too, like Luther, visited Italy (in 1512), and wrote epigrams against Pope Julius II. He repeated the visit four years later (1516), and spent on this occasion several months in Rome. To him, as to Luther, this Roman sojourn was a revelation. "You may live for plunder, commit murder and sacrilege, break the laws as you will; your talk may be shameful, your actions criminal; you may revel in lust and deny God in heaven—but if you do but bring money to Rome, you are a most respectable person." He tried the study of law as a means of gaining a post that would keep him from

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starvation, wrote meanwhile some of "The Letters of Obscure Men," and other things against the obscurantists, received the poet's crown from the hands of Maximilian himself at Augsburg in July 1517, and finally appeared in the court of the Archbishop of Maintz, who employed him in a mission to King Francis I. A strange place for such a man whose morals were as lax as his creed, did we not bear in mind that the tolerant Archbishop Albrecht was a patron of letters, and Hutten was in sore need of his patronage. Out of this chaotic life of adventure the man of letters, the poet, the patriot, was ultimately evolved, and as patriotic publicist Hutten played for a few meteoric years a conspicuous part in the revolutionary movement of the time.

In him Luther cannot be said to have found a disciple who had drank in the evangelical fervour of the master, though he could quote Scripture and talk theology on occasion. Hutten was certainly not an evangelical Christian, but he hated the pope as a foreign usurper, he hated the clergy as the minions of this usurper, he hated the princes as the enemies of his order, and he hailed in Luther a leader in the cause of the political and intellectual regeneration of Germany, for which he himself had been working like a Titan for the last half-dozen years through his satires, invectives, letters, reform programmes, poems. He was even more than Luther a man of action as well as a scholar, and his activity had a wider scope. The religious question was for him merely the lever to the attainment of political results. He was a humanist and a nationalist rather than a Protestant—the enemy of ecclesiastical tyranny on humanist and national grounds. He would draw the sword without hesitation against this tyranny if other methods failed, and it is evident that at this period he had succeeded in imbuing Luther with something of his own impetuous, fierce spirit. Even Luther, as we have seen, is found threatening fire and sword if the enemy will not listen to argument and appeal. "If the fury of the Romanists continue," he exclaims in the reply to Prierias, which he penned in the year 1520, "there seems to me to be no remedy left but that the emperor, kings and princes, girding on their armour, attack these pests of the earth, and decide the matter, not by words but with the

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sword. If we punish thieves with the axe, heretics with fire, why do we not rather attack these masters of perdition, these cardinals, these popes, and the whole rabble of the Roman Sodom and wash our hands in their blood, and thus free ourselves from the common and most dangerous conflagration of all?" "I implore you," we find him writing in the same militant spirit to Spalatin (February 1520), "if you rightly understand the gospel, do not imagine that its cause can be furthered without tumult, distress, and uproar. You cannot make a pen out of a sword, or peace out of war. The word of God is a sword, is warfare, destruction, wrath, spoiling, an adder's tongue, and, as Amos says, like the lion in the footpath and the bear in the forest." Thus in the earlier stage of the Lutheran movement Luther and Hutten are allies, if not exactly in aim, at least in method. Both preach the gospel of force as the only remedy for the times. True it is, the emperor, the princes, the constituted powers of the empire that shall apply the remedy, but Hutten at least was ready to make use of any force, constituted or non-constituted, to bring about the desired end. If the emperor and the princes will not join in the crusade against Antichrist and in behalf of a free Germany, cannot the Raubritter ride a horse and wield a sword?

"Vil harnisch han wir und vil pferd,
Vil hallenbarten und vil schwerd,
Und so hilft freuntlich manung nit
So wöllen wir die brauchen mit."

The emperor and the princes proving lukewarm in the cause of a free and united fatherland, the lesser nobility shall do it in spite of them, and for a leader Hutten turns away from the kaiser to Franz von Sickingen, the hero of all the daring banditti of the age.

Sickingen was the most splendid Reichsritter of his time, the bold leader who fought other men's quarrels as well as his own, and had grown rich and powerful in consequence. He had done much rough work in these filibustering raids, and his reputation was not exactly that of a saint. "For the last two years," complained the burgomaster and Council of Worms, with whom he waged a deadly feud (March 1517), "Sickingen has been devastating the land, cutting down the

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corn and the vines in the fields, setting fire to the fruit trees, chopping off the hands and the ears of the poor labourers at their work and killing them in wanton cruelty, flogging women and young girls and violating their honour, seizing young boys and putting them to death, plundering and wounding pilgrims, messengers, and merchants, and cutting crosses on their foreheads, flogging, lacerating, plundering, and making prisoners of priests and monks." Not certainly a promising recruit for the cause of Luther; and yet Luther in the dark Wartburg days, with the sentence of outlawry hanging over him, turned his thoughts to Sickingen as a possible deliverer if it came to the worst. "If," he writes to Spalatin from the Wartburg on 1st June, "they (his enemies) do not alter their course, some one else (pointing apparently to Franz himself) will do it for them, not, like Luther, with letters and words, but with deeds." In his desponding moments he clutches the arm of the strong man on the Ebernburg as well as fixes his faith on God. The military experience and the influence of Sickingen seemed to point him out as the protagonist of the crusade against pope and hierarchy, if no more powerful protector should come forward. Despite his rough deeds, he had made a position for himself second to none among the magnates of the empire, and was high in the favour of Charles V., to whom he had lent money. In this very summer of 1521, Charles, like so many humbler suppliants, turned to Ritter Franz at a pinch, and engaged him to lead his fire-eaters against his enemy, Francis I. Moreover, Franz had a taste for politics, and even for literature and theology as well as for fighting. He was an ardent disciple of the patriot Hutten, and through Hutten he had espoused the cause of Reuchlin against the obscurantists. His castles of Ebernburg and Landstuhl afforded a generous shelter to every fugitive from persecution. It was to the Ebernburg that Hutten himself retired in 1520 when his attack on the Roman tyrant at last exposed him to the pope's hostility, and forced Archbishop Albrecht to take action against the arch rebel. To Ebernburg or to Landstuhl, too, came Bucer, Oecolampadius, and other missioners of the new gospel or the new culture. Reuchlin and Luther would have been welcome had they cared to accept Ritter Franz's prof-

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fered hospitality and protection. It only needed Hutten's impulsive arguments to carry this rough, scantily educated, but shrewd and open-minded fellow Ritter clean over to the cause of progress. It was during the winter evenings of 1520-21 that these two kindred spirits communed in the old Ebernburg over the burning questions of the hour—religious as well as patriotic—and the warrior spirit of Franz took fire as the bold doctrines of Luther were expounded to him by Hutten. "And does any one dare to undermine these truths, or think that he can if he tries?" burst out Franz. He became a confirmed Lutheran, but in his Lutheranism there was a strong dash of Hutten as well as of the rough Reichsritter. Behind Luther, as behind Hus, rose the figure of Zizka. Sickingen will play the *rôle* of a second Zizka. "Did not Zizka," Hutten makes Franz say in one of these firebrand pamphlets, born of these winter evening communions in the old Ebernburg, "free his country from oppression, banish idle priests and monks, restore their property to the heirs of those who founded the orders, or apply it to the public good? Did he not put an end to Roman interference and rapacity, avenge the sainted Hus, and all this without enriching himself?" To this *rôle* of Zizka, Franz should add that of the champion of the knightly order, the Reichsritter, yea, even of the free cities against the princes—their common enemy—against those insolent capitalists and monopolists who plunder the small merchant as well as the knight, those tyrannic magnates who control the Diet and threaten the interests of knights and middle class alike. True, knight and merchant were sworn enemies, for the Raubritter plundered, mutilated, murdered on every highway of Germany, and especially in this rich Rhineland country, where Franz himself had been at feud with city as well as territorial magnate these long years past. But the old enmity which threatened their complete undoing must, in Hutten's fervid doggerel, give place to a brotherly union for the common interest.

"Ye pious cities give your hand,"

exhorts Hutten in "The Wrongs of the Free Cities of the German Nation,"

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"To the brave nobles of our land,

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Both cities free and noble knight,
Groan 'neath the tyrant princes' might;
The nobles' substance they devour,
And rob you of your rights and power."

Nay, "Karsthans," the peasant (who speaks in the spirit if not in the words of Hutten), shall lend a helping hand in the crusade in behalf of religious and political reform, for Karsthans, too, has his grievances (against the priests more especially), and is ready to rise at Sickingen's call.

Thus from these winter evening communings in the Ebernburg there was finally evolved the plan of a general cataclysm, in which Franz should rise into dictatorial power as the leader of the laity against the clergy, the lower orders against the princes, the empire against the pope, a new Germany against the old. It was a great, but an impossible idea. The union of the knights and the cities was no more possible than the union of fire and water. Even if the Ritter and the burghers could have coalesced, they would have been no match for the princes and the magnates who had grown to greatness at their expense, waxed strong through their weakness. The petty sovereign had become a fixture in the empire. Nevertheless, Sickingen and Hutten were resolved to try the experiment, and the condemnation of Luther at Worms had nearly precipitated the struggle. Hutten hurled threat on threat from the Ebernburg at the enemies of the gospel and the Fatherland, and sent missive on missive to the reformer exhorting him to stand fast. Sickingen would not move just yet, however, for he had hopes of playing a *rôle* under the imperial banner, and had not lost sight of his personal advantage in the midst of these visionary schemings. But after the unsuccessful expedition against France on Charles' behalf, for which his imperial patron left him to pay, and the consequent friction between them, the mine, which Hutten had so laboriously laid, exploded at last in August 1522.

The explosion was, as might have been foreseen, but a puny display of knightly fireworks. It looked ominous at first. In August the nobles of the Rhineland met at Sickingen's summons at Landau to resolve to stand the princely

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encroachments on their privileges no longer, and to bind themselves to mutual support of their rights. They disowned any jurisdiction prejudicial to their rights, and insisted that all disputes affecting their order should be settled by courts composed exclusively of their peers. This did not look very revolutionary, but Sickingen, who was elected Captain-General of the League, gave a more aggressive turn to the movement by publishing a manifesto to the people of Treves, declaring his determination to deliver them from "the heavy anti-christian yoke of the priesthood, and lead them to evangelical freedom," and by forthwith marching against the elector with 1,500 horse and 5,000 foot. Richard von Greiffenklau, the bellicose archbishop of Treves, was not minded to be made the first victim of this politico-religious revolution, and defended his walls so stoutly that Sickingen was fain to retire baffled, to be in his turn besieged in his castle of Landstuhl by the elector and his allies, the Elector Palatine and the Margrave of Hesse, and mortally wounded while standing in the breach with his face to the foe. His premature death, the flight of Hutten to Switzerland, and the expedition of the Suabian Bund against the Franconian nobility gave the quietus to a movement which, even had it succeeded, would not have inaugurated the political millennium dreamed of by its impulsive organiser. "Even at that time," judges Ranke, "it was perceived that if the power of the princes was overthrown and the constitution of the empire broken up, nothing was to be expected but an exclusive, violent, and, at the same time, self-conflicting rule of the nobles." In the case of poor Hutten, the revolution had certainly not been a success. He, too, soon afterwards ended his stormy career at the age of thirty-four. "He left," says his friend Zwingli, pathetically, "nothing of any value; he had neither books nor furniture; nothing but a pen."

What had become of the other member of the revolutionary triad—of Luther, whose language in his zeal against Antichrist had occasionally been as impulsive as that of Hutten? Luther, on his side, had fought a great fight at Worms, and, though apparently defeated, had triumphed single-handed—one against nearly all the world as represented by the majority of the Diet. He assuredly cannot be accused of weakness or

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fickleness, and yet he was not with Hutten and Sickingen in their appeal to the sword. His vehemence spent itself in words, and, though his words were furious enough at times, it was, if possible, with words, not with blows, that he would win his cause. He had indeed some thought, in his impulsive or despondent moments, of meeting force with force, but he hesitated to commit himself to the problematic schemes of his impetuous allies, and finally rebutted Hutten's suggestion to make use of carnal weapons. The Bible was his armoury in the fight with error and abuse. "You see what Hutten wants," we find him writing to Spalatin in January 1521; "I do not wish that we should fight for the gospel with fire and sword. I have written to the man to this effect. By the Word the world has been subdued; by the Word the Church has been upheld; and by the Word it will be reformed, and even Antichrist, as he has not used violence, will be overpowered without violence by the Word." He was not quite prophetic in this forecast. In the long-run the question of reform became in Germany, as in other lands, a question of who could strike the hardest blows, and in this respect Hutten had a keener vision than the great preacher of the Word at Wittenberg. Nor does he seem quite consistent, for in his angry moods his language is still very bellicose. He threatens his persecutors not only with God's vengeance, but with "an uprising which shall sweep them from the earth." He thinks, moreover, that they will deserve what they get, and he proclaims that "all who give body, goods, honour, that the rule of the bishops may be destroyed," are "God's dear children, and true Christians who obey God's command and fight against the devil's order" ("Against the Falsely called Spiritual Order of the Pope and the Bishops," July 1522).

Such utterances are compromising, and some have seen in them a preparation for the Sickingen rising. We must, however, judge Luther's standpoint, not from an occasional irascible outburst, but from his deliberate teaching on the right of insurrection. The man who at times could use the most inflaming revolutionary language, and defy the whole world for the sake of his opinions, was by nature and principle the staunch supporter of constituted authority. In another effusion which appeared in the same year (1522), "A True Ex-

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hortation to all Christians to guard themselves from Revolt and Riot," he is not sorry to hear of the alarm of the papists, but let them fear the wrath of God rather than of man. It is the part of the secular power, which is ordained by God, to set right what is wrong in the land, and, as long as the princes do not take the matter in hand, the people may not. Moreover, "popular insurrection has no reason, does not distinguish between the guilty and the innocent. Therefore, no rebellion is right, however just the cause; more harm than good always comes of it. Be guided, consequently, by the powers that be; as long as they do not move and command, hold heart, hand, and mouth in check, and do nothing of your own accord. If you can influence the powers that be to take action, you may do so. But if they will not, neither may you." This is certainly a tame ending of those warrior words that dart forth like lightning here and there in Luther's earlier works. But it came to be the distinctively Lutheran doctrine on the subject, and proves clearly enough that Luther could never have worked in unison with men like Hutten or Sickingen. In him the primitive Christian strives with the militant champion of the gospel, and the primitive Christian ultimately gains the victory. That his anxiety to avoid anything that would estrange his protectors in high places contributed to the victory is probable enough. His position as the *protégé* of the Saxon elector precluded participation in any movement which professed enmity to the princes as well as zeal for the gospel. To forfeit the elector's protection would have been to wreck the cause of reform, and thus expediency and principle allied him to the side of the princes against the nobles. Absolutely consistent he cannot be said to have been; eminently sensible and practical he was. If reform was to succeed at all, it could only be under the ægis of what was proving to be the strongest body in the empire. In this matter the theologian was far shrewder than the knight. Luther was, in fact, one of the most wonderful combinations of vehemence and sagacity, theological ardour and worldly prudence—a compound of Erasmus and Hutten, with all the fire of the latter, without his sanguine inclination to theory, with all the circumspection of the former, without his indecision.

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He cannot, however, be accused of servility towards the princely order. Though he exaggerated the office of princes, he did not on occasion spare their persons, as a Duke George of Saxony, a Henry VIII. of England, found to their astonishment when they took to controversy with the intrepid theologian. Luther could "drub" a king as well as a pope who had the presumption to contradict his teaching. To this dogmatic nature a king or a duke who did so was "a liar," "an ass," or worse, and an ass should not take to reading the Psalter! Every opponent of Luther is the devil in person, and deserves nothing but cursing. And this not merely in a moment of fierce controversy. The prince rules by divine right, he insists in his tract "On the secular Power and how far obedience is due to it" (1523), "but from the beginning of the world an intelligent prince has been a rare bird, and a pious one a still rarer. They are usually the greatest fools or the worst scoundrels on earth." And let them take warning, for times have ominously changed. "The common man is becoming intelligent, . . . he will not, cannot suffer your tyranny and arbitrariness for ever." Nevertheless, he preaches subordination to these "fools and scoundrels" by divine right, and will only permit their victims the right to differ from them in matters of conscience, while suffering in patience for the privilege of being ruled by imbecility or rascality divinely established. "Christians may not resist, but suffer, though they shall not approve or serve." For these fools and scoundrels, by divine right, as for the pope and the bishop, he reserves the wrath of God, not of man. In so doing, he certainly did not know human nature.

If his attitude to the pope and the spirit of his earlier writings seemed to bring him into line with the aristocratic party of revolution on the one hand, his teaching undoubtedly lent an impulse to democratic revolution on the other. Luther became a popular hero in these early years of his struggle with Rome. In the popular literature of the day the peasant usually takes the side of the reformer against the local parson, and even against Eck, Mürner, Cochlaeus, and others of Luther's antagonists, whose names are parodied into Geck, Murr-narr, Kochloeffel. The peasant has evidently become a theologian, and puts the parson to the rout with

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quotations from the Bible and Dr Martin. He is even found wielding his flail to add zest to his arguments. The self-consciousness which we have seen rising in the previous century overflows in coarse satire and invective against the priests, and in spite of its vulgarity it has a distinctly theological tone. The common man has arrived at the conclusion that he and not the priest or the hierarchy constitutes the true Church, and Luther has undoubtedly contributed to nurture this conviction. His conception of the Church as the priesthood of believers, as the sum-total of Christ's followers, of the spiritual equality of Christians, has become a popular conception. And these popular theologians might quote Luther's own words in support of the belief in their own infallibility against pope or priest. Had he not inveighed against the ignorance of the clergy, from the pope downwards, of the things of Holy Writ? Had he not laid stress on the fact that the knowledge of divine things comes from above, is inspired by the Holy Ghost? "The pope, the emperor, the universities, can make doctors of letters, medicine, laws, the sentences," he cried in his address to the nobility, "but of this be certain, no one can make a doctor of the Holy Scriptures except the Holy Ghost from heaven. As Christ saith, 'You must all be taught of God.' Now the Holy Spirit asks not whether one is young or old, lay or cleric, monk or secular, virgin or wife, yea, He spoke of old through an ass against the prophet who rode on it." Such a deliverance went straight to the heart of the common man, and the common man is accordingly found confuting the parson by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit with increasing boldness. Even Sickingen is heard in the "Neukarsthans" repeating Luther for the edification of the rustic. "We are all the Church, and none more than another." Consequently we must all put our hands to the work of sweeping away the bishops and the priests, and making them disgorge their ill-gotten gear. Down with the false Church is the practical conclusion of the new theology, as expounded by the people in the beer-house and the market-place. The prevalence of a spirit of unrest which discusses, quarrels, drinks itself furious over the beer-pot is ominous even to the most casual observer. It is in truth not new, but it is intensified by the shock of tradition and

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progress. "Tippling, guzzling, and abusing all authorities is nowadays the mark of a right-minded peasant." "In taverns and betting-houses everything is now discussed by the common people." "The new gospel," says Erasmus, "is producing for us a new species of mankind—insolent, shameless, dare-devil sinners and liars, quarrellers, ne'er-do-wells, mischief makers, agitators, ranters, squallers, and brawlers." But then the timid Erasmus had very little of the militant reformer in him, and, like all the controversialists of the time, was inclined to call a man an agitator who asserted any opinion he did not like.

Thus Luther's teaching might lead to theories whose application might produce startling effects. Luther was, in fact, soon called on to defend his doctrines, not only against his enemies but against his friends—against Carlstadt, for instance, who during his exile in the Wartburg had risen to be a power in Wittenberg. Carlstadt and his friend Zwilling finished by casting altars, images, pictures into the fire, abolishing the mass, distributing the wine as well as the bread to the people, and proclaiming a radical crusade in favour of simplicity of worship and life. Behind Carlstadt were the prophets of Zwickau, Storch and Stübner, who had been driven from Zwickau as disturbers of the peace, and were busy expounding their revelations to the multitude. Men like Nicolas Storch, a weaver by occupation, with a taste for theological speculation, reminiscent of Mount Tabor, were far more aggressive and self-reliant than even Luther in their attack on tradition. They were the prophets of the Holy Ghost pure and simple, of a Bible which could only be explained by the unsophisticated, divinely inspired mind of the ecstatic weaver. They relied more on popular opinion and popular support than on learned theologians, established authorities; inveighed against schools and universities, and claimed for presumptuous ignorance a monopoly of divine wisdom. They carried away the impressionable Carlstadt, who, doctor of theology though he was, turned to the inspired weaver for light on recondite texts of Scripture. If Luther had not hurried from the Wartburg to preach moderation and common-sense, Wittenberg would have become a second Mount Tabor. The victory against these fanatic, intolerant

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zealots remained with Luther, but the extremely subjective element, to which he had given encouragement in his battle with Antichrist, was by no means finally repulsed when Storch and his fellow-fanatics were driven once more into exile. Carlstadt and Münzer became the prophets of the common man; Luther ceased to be the popular leader. It would be unfair to call him a politician; compared with Carlstadt, he is rather a moderate. "The middle course," cried he in one of his sermons, "is the best." But to preserve moderation in such an age, with the revolutionary fever spreading like an epidemic far and near, was as difficult a task as to overthrow Antichrist, and it is difficult not to see sometimes the politician in the moderate. To condemn the mass, and yet permit the mass; to preach the crusade against the Church, and yet condone some of its superstitious practices; to appeal to the Bible against his enemies, and yet thunder anathemas against any one who quoted Scripture against himself; to preach submission to the powers that be, and yet denounce them in his angry moods as fools and tyrants, was not an easy *rôle* to play. Nor was he altogether consistent in his denunciation of the individualism of the prophets. Münzer, in emphasising the subjective element in religion, was only accentuating Luther's own principle. "It belongs," insisted the reformer, "to each and every Christian to know and to judge of doctrine, and belongs in such wise that he is anathema who shall have diminished this right by a hair-breadth."

Such a temporiser was not, after all, the prophet whose advent the astrologers and the wandering preachers had been foretelling to the peasants for well-nigh a century. Andreas von Bodenstein, a native of Carlstadt, better known as Dr Carlstadt, seemed a more likely Messias, now that he had broken utterly with Luther, had retired from Wittenberg, and even donned the peasant's blouse for a time in a neighbouring village, had discarded the non-Christian degree of doctor, and was preaching his radical gospel, based on personal inspiration as well as the Bible, at Orlamunde. From Orlamunde, Luther, who attempted to intervene a second time, was driven with hisses and curses. "Begone in the name of a thousand devils," was the parting blessing of the Orlamundites, "and

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may you break your neck before you get out of the town." Luther complained to the elector, and the elector banished Carlstadt from his dominions. This harsh proceeding only widened the popularity of the exiled ex-doctor of theology, who wandered to Rotenburg, to Strasburg, to Basle, preaching against "the new papal sophist," "the friend of Antichrist," and appealing directly to the Christian conscience of the common man. The common man naturally took his side in the quarrel, and began here and there to preach himself in Carlstadt's spirit, and to mingle with his inspirations very practical denunciations of the abuses that vexed the peasant's soul.

Carlstadt was outdone by Thomas Münzer, one of the fugitives of Zwickau, who, after roaming about Bohemia nursing his fanatic spirit with Taborite reminiscences, had planted himself in Saxon Alstedt as the direct representative of the Holy Spirit. In this capacity he preached not only against Antichrist, but against Luther as a false prophet. For Münzer the main thing is direct communion with God, not through the Bible but through the Holy Ghost, who speaks to the human soul by dreams and visions and signs. "Man received the revelation of God, not through the Church, not by proclamation of the divine word, still less through the dead letter of the Bible, but only through the Spirit of God, who speaks directly to him." This is the true gospel which Münzer has been inspired to proclaim. Dreams and visions apart, the principle of these revelations seems sane enough—more rational, in fact, than that either of the believers in the artificial authority of the pope and the Church, or in the sole authority of the Bible. If God reveals Himself directly to man at all, why suppose that He only chooses to do so through certain Hebrew prophets and evangelists, or through pope and General Council? As if every noble inspiration of the mind and heart of man were not a revelation of the divine! Münzer's contention had both more reason and more religion in it than the champions of a merely artificial revelation, whether Papist or Protestant, were able to perceive. But such subjective revelations require to be severely tested by reason and conscience, and in those of Münzer there was much that outraged both reason and conscience. They were, in fact, but the ravings

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of the extreme Taborites served up afresh. Not only are all equal and all things are held in common in the community of God's elect, which he finally founded at Mühlhausen. In order to establish the true Church on earth, the wicked must be destroyed. If princes, lords, or gentlemen refuse to become members of this true Church, they shall be beheaded or hanged. For the ungodly, especially godless rulers, parsons, monks, must be put to death like the Canaanites of old. This gospel meant war to the knife against existing institutions, yet Münzer did not hesitate to preach it in the castle of Alstedt in the presence of the Elector Frederick and Duke George of Saxony, and, for preaching it, he, like Carlstadt, was, at Luther's instigation, forbidden the electoral dominions, and betook himself to the Upper Rhineland, and divers other regions, cursing Luther as he went. His gospel was not new, was in truth but an echo from Mount Tabor and the erratic preachers of popular rebellion who had long prophesied a new order of things. But it drew crowds, while the parish churches stood empty. "All this sort of thing is pleasing to the masses," wrote the observant chronicler. Verily an ominous sign of the times in view of the seething discontent that was more and more outrunning the merely theological reformers, and was seeking practical remedies in social revolution as well as religious reformation.

SOURCES.—Luther's Works as collected in his Sämmtliche Werke (Erlangen) and the more recent Kritische Gesamtausgabe (Weimar), particularly the following: An den Christlichen Adel Deutscher Nation (1520); De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiæ, Præludium (1520); Epitoma Responsionis ad Martinum Luther (per Fratrem Silvestrum de Prierio, 1520); Von der Freiheit eines Christen Menschen (1520); Eine treue Ermahnung zu allen Christen sich zu verhüten vor Aufruhr und Empörung (1522); Ulrich von Hutten's Opera, edited by Böcking (1859-62); Strauss, Life and Times of Ulrich von Hutten, translated by Mrs Sturge (1874); Ulman, Franz von Sickingen (1872); Bezold, Geschichte der Deutschen Reformation (1890); Janssen, Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes, vols. iii. and iv. of English translation; Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte im Zeitalter der Reformation,

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translated by Sarah Austin (1847); Beard, The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century (1883); Koestlin, Martin Luther (1875); Jacobs, Martin Luther (1898); Lindsay, Luther and the German Reformation (1900); Creighton, History of the Papacy during the Reformation, vol. v. (1894); Freytag, Bilder aus der Deutschen Vergangenheit, Jahrhundert der Reformation (1880); Weber, Das Zeitalter der Reformation (1873); Häusser, Geschichte des Zeitalters der Reformation, edited by Oncken (1868).

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CHAPTER IV.

The Social Cataclysm in Germany.

In the social cataclysm that followed, the influence of such ultra-evangelical views is very apparent. In demanding the redress of his grievances the common man quoted Scripture profusely, appealed to primitive Christianity in justification of his action. It would, however, be shortsighted to ascribe the rising of the German peasants in 1524-25 mainly to the preaching of a Carlstadt or a Münzer, to regard it as primarily a religious crusade. It was largely social, and only in a lesser degree political or religious in character. Its mainspring lay in the social grievances already noted. It was one more Bundschuh—the last of a series—on a grand scale, though the religious element was intensified as the result of the religious revival. In 1524-25, as in 1502 and 1512, the peasant rose primarily to settle accounts with his oppressors, and, without the practical grievances against which he had long protested, there would have been no serious attempt to realise a theory of Christian socialism as preached by Münzer and other rabid evangelists.

The movement began at Stuhlingen, in the south-west corner of the Black Forest, of which district the Count of Lupfen was feudal lord. The immediate cause of this local outbreak was prosaic enough. The rustics of Lupfen resolved, according to the chronicler, to strike against the obligation to gather strawberries and snail shells, on holidays, for the noble countess. If so, they merely adduced these among an accumulation of grievances which affected the whole agrarian system, and bore fundamentally on the relation of lord and dependant. The peasant, we learn, is the victim of a situation which has simply made it impossible to live. He is denied justice, and mercilessly mulcted by his lord in a variety of ways. He is deprived of his right to use the common lands

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(the allmend), which his lord has alienated for his own benefit. The forests and streams are closed against him. He is subjected to forced labour, which makes the proper cultivation of his holding impossible. He is the victim of vicious game laws, which permit his lord to ride over his fields, but deprive him of the right to kill the game that destroys his crops. From these samples of his complaints it is evident that the peasants on the estate of Count von Lupfen, and on the neighbouring manors of the Hegau, where Joss Fritz was busy at his old trade of hatching conspiracy, had not a dog's life, and it is not therefore surprising that they gave ear to the summonses of the ex-landsknecht, Hans Müller of Bulgenbach, to put an end to their doggish existence by organised resistance. Hans, according to the chronicler, "was very fluent of speech and far-sighted, whose equal in speaking could not be found." He went from village to village, clad in a red cloak and bonnet, preaching rebellion and organising his rustic hearers. Thus organised, they marched on St Bartholomew's Day, 24th August 1524, under their red, white, and black banner, to Waldshut, over a thousand strong. Waldshut was a nest of heretics, and its inhabitants had their own grievances, mostly of a religious character, against their Austrian rulers, who had made a bonfire of Luther's works, and finished the performance by decapitating the heretic town clerk on the spot. These aggrieved Waldshutters welcomed Hans Müller and his little rustic army as brothers in a common cause, though they do not seem to have been professed heretics.

Thus the purely agrarian and social movement appears from the outset coalescing with the religious opposition of the time, which was most active in the towns, and the religious element becomes increasingly prominent in its further development, though the main factors remain social. The Bundschuh becomes a Christian brotherhood, and by the following spring, by means of agitation and organisation (in which, besides Müller, preachers like Hubmaier, Scheppler, and Münzer were very active), embraced the Hegau, the Klettgau, the Allgau, yea, the whole of Upper Suabia, as far east as Kempten and Memmingen. The attempt of the Suabian League to arrest its growth by negotiation failed. Even the repulse of the exiled Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg (Ulrich the peasant,

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as he signed himself), who played the democrat and the evangelical Christian in order to win back his duchy, and a motley army of adventurers, did not cow the rising spirit of insurrection. Ulrich was forced, by the desertion of Hans Müller's rustics and his Swiss mercenaries, to halt in his march on Stuttgart, and flee back to his castle of Hohentwiel before the troops of the League. "Although the Duke of Würtemberg has been put to flight," wrote Geyss, councillor of the Bishop of Würzburg, on 21st March 1525, "the peasants of Suabia continue in the same state of insurrection, and their numbers do not diminish, but increase daily. From Augsburg outwards . . . as far as Ulm, and from there . . . as far as the Lake of Constance, all the peasants and vassals are in a state of sedition and revolt. It is said that the whole land of Würtemberg will support them." Truchsess, the League's general, routed several of these bands, some of which ran away at the first shot, and induced them to agree to arbitration, but no sooner was his back turned than the work of looting castles and monasteries went on as briskly as before. The League was for the present helpless to cope with the situation. The war in Italy had drained the country of troops, and after the victory of Pavia large numbers of the returning landsknechts would not fight against their peasant brethren, or joined their ranks. And it was soon no longer a question of rebellion in Suabia. By the summer of 1525 the revolutionary contagion had spread north, east, west—northwards into Franconia, the Odenwald, the Neckerwald, Hesse, the Rhinegau, Thuringia, Saxony, Brunswick; westwards from the Black Forest and Baden into Alsace, Lorraine, Treves; eastwards into Salzburg, Tyrol, Carinthia, Styria. The whole empire was ablaze with revolution. Verily, Luther's denunciation of the wrath of God against the princes of the earth had come to pass with a vengeance, though in a fashion in which the reformer refused to see the fulfilment of his own prognostications and warnings.

It is not easy to generalise a movement so widespread as this. We might call it a social revolution based on the Bible, and, though not exhaustive, this description holds at least of the programme adopted by the peasants of Upper Suabia at Memmingen in March 1525. The preface disclaims the

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malicious insinuation that their object is to destroy all authority with the sword. They then proceed in the first article to demand for the community the right to choose its pastor, who shall preach the plain gospel without addition of man. (Texts in support thereof from the Old and New Testaments.) They are willing, according to the second article, to pay the great tithe of corn, which has the sanction of the Old Testament, for the support of the preacher of the pure gospel and of the poor, and to devote any residue to the public service, in case of war, in lieu of a general tax. The small tithe (of a head of cattle) they will on no account pay to any lord, spiritual or temporal, "since God has created the beast for the free use of man." (More texts.) The third article declares their determination to submit no longer to villeinage, which is incompatible with the gospel. They do not disclaim obedience to lawful authority, but as Christians they are free, and free they will be. (More scriptural references.) Further, by the fourth article, they are entitled, according to the word of God, to their share of game and fish, for God hath given a right to all men to the fowls of the air and the fish in the water. Any one who cannot prove the purchase of "a water" must restore it to the community. (See Gen. i., Cor. x., &c.) Similarly, in regard to the woods, the fifth article declares them forfeited to the people in the case of lords who have not purchased them. In the sixth article they insist on the diminution of the oppressive services demanded by the lords (see Romans x.), and in the seventh the lord shall observe the ancient agreements with the peasants, shall not oppress them, and shall not require them to render service at an unseasonable time, and even then shall pay them a fair price for this labour. (References to Luke's Gospel and the Epistle to the Thessalonians.) The eighth demands a fair rent for their holdings (Matt. x.); the ninth protests against unjust punishments, which contravene the ancient written law (four texts quoted); the tenth against the usurpation of the common lands, which they will take back in all cases where they have not been honestly purchased. The eleventh denounces the death-due as an unmerciful oppression of widows and orphans, and demands its entire abolition. (More texts.) Finally, they agree to

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resile from any of these articles that may be found contrary to God's word.

From the scriptural point of view, and having regard especially to the reasonable spirit in which they are made, these demands are feasible enough. Their moderation is surprising in view of the wild doctrines preached from the pulpit and through the press. The peasants will not use force except in the last resort, and against glaring abuses, indefensible in a Christian society. They are ready to reason and compromise in a brotherly spirit. Brotherly love and holy writ are to decide in all contentious matters. Unfortunately, brotherly love and holy writ in this so-called Christian world of the sixteenth century will not be allowed to arbitrate, and the peasants in organising to enforce their demands, if need be, were taking the only course that could bring about their practical realisation. To appeal to their lords, temporal or spiritual, merely with texts of Scripture, was to appeal to deaf ears. Though many of these lords were high dignitaries of the Christian Church, self-interest, even though it wears an ecclesiastical garb, has its own way of interpreting the Scriptures.

Such seems to have been the conviction of the Boers of Alsace-Lorraine, whose demands, which were also formulated in Twelve Articles, are distinctly more mundane in tone. The first, indeed, demands the preaching of the gospel according to the true faith; the remainder repeat for the most part the Suabian demands, but without the texts of Scripture, in brief peremptory fashion, and the spirit of insubordination under a harsh, oppressive *régime* is very marked. These Alsatian peasants will simply take back the common lands without further discussion. And they have political views to champion as well as social demands to make. They will no longer be subject to any prince or lord, but to whomsoever they please. They will only own allegiance to the emperor. Should any one in authority act contrary to what they think right, they will forthwith depose him and elect another in his place. This is more business-like; distinctly revolutionary. They will have the gospel, but they will insist on their rights as men, gospel or no gospel. If the preacher Scheppler drew up the Suabian Twelve Articles, the man who fulminated those of the Alsace-Lorraine peasantry was evidently a shrewd politician, who had

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studied human nature as well as the Bible, and had an eye to the sovereignty of the people as well as the rights of the Christian community.

The men of Tyrol, under the leadership of Michael Gaismayr, were equally insistent and still more comprehensive in their demands. These high-spirited mountaineers, who had preserved some political rights in spite of the rule of a tyrannic government (they were represented in the Landtag), are the sworn foes of all oppression, secular or spiritual, and are determined to found a new State as well as make an end of social abuse. They, too, demand the pure gospel and the right to elect their pastors, as indispensable preliminaries. But they insist, in addition, on the election of all officials by the community, the secularisation of all ecclesiastical property, equal law and justice for all without distinction of class, the abolition of feudal jurisdictions, whether secular or ecclesiastical, the establishment of a central authority under Prince Ferdinand to maintain equal laws for all. Some months later (June 1526) Gaismayr improved on this programme, in some respects, in the spirit of Sir Thomas More. His scheme in the main might almost be mistaken for an attempt to inaugurate Utopia among the mountains of Tyrol. The keynote of his Landesordnung is social equality. All castles and town walls should be destroyed; there should, in fact, henceforth be no towns, only villages. "No man must be higher and more important than another, for out of such distinction there arise discussions, pride, sedition; there must be perfect equality throughout the land." From this State the merchant must be banished; the Government must become the general merchant and manufacturer. Agriculture is the main pursuit; cattle-breeding, farming, the cultivation of the vine, the reclamation of swamps and other wastes, must consequently be encouraged. There should only be one university; the pure Bible the only science taught in it. The administration of justice should be entirely in the hands of the people, each community to elect annually a court of one judge and eight jurors, and the members of the central government at Brixen to consist of popularly elected deputies. Gaismayr further insists that "all godless persons who do violence to the eternal word of God, oppress the common people, and

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hinder the general welfare of the community," shall be rooted out.

In the initial arcadian programme of a Gaismayr, which resembles those of Suabia and Alsace in its agrarian keynote, there is still room for the hereditary authority of a Prince Ferdinand, who in his impotence at Innsbruck was obliged to temporise and concede some of its demands. In other regions the revolutionists lost all patience with hereditary authority, and championed a republic based on the sovereignty of the people. Though this idea does not seem to have found expression in any official programme, it appears here and there as part of the political creed of the insurgents. They might recognise an emperor, but it should be an emperor of their own making, the mere head of a popular State. In this State the multiplicity of sovereigns should disappear. One people and one ruler is the dominant aspiration. Princes and lords, whether secular or ecclesiastical, must be deprived of their usurped power and become simple citizens like the rest. For long this idea had floated in the popular mind, had found incorporation in a Frederick Redivivus—the emperor of the common man—and now the time had come for the people to create this Frederick by their own fiat, in virtue of their innate sovereignty. The doctrine of self-government, based on the people's will, is found gaining ground even in Suabia, in spite of the Twelve Articles of Memmingen. Down with hereditary sovereignty and hereditary class is the passionate cry of the nameless scribe who in this spirit wrote one of these wild philippics, which in the course of this wild year hurled the curse of the common man against his oppressors. "Whosoever among the princes and lords," thunders the author of this tract "To the Assembly of the Common Peasantry of the High German Nation and many other places," "devise and impose fresh laws and burdens for the sake of their own selfish interests, are traitors to their trusts, and act falsely by Almighty God, their one Sovereign Lord. What right has this crowd of financial man-wolves and behemoths to pile ever new burdens on the poor people? This year it is a voluntarily accepted *corvée*, which next year is exacted as obligatory forced labour; for this indeed is how their ancient traditional justice has for the most part grown up. In what statute-

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book has the Lord God given them such power that we poor fellows should in fine weather labour for nothing on their farms, and in rainy weather see the fruit of our bloody sweat perish in the fields? God in His mercy will surely not tolerate this cruel Babylonish captivity, that we poor creatures should be driven like slaves to mow and hoe their meadows, to plough their fields, to sow the flax in them, and then pull it up again, to ripple, ret, break; wash, spin it. . . . How about the sporting folk, the gamblers and the revellers, who stuff themselves fuller than vomiting dogs? And for all this we have to pay them taxes, tithes, and rent, and they care not a hang if the poor man has to go without his bread and salt and lard, and his wife and poor little untaught children too. How about the labourers and their privileges? Yea, cursed be these robbers and cormorants. What are they about, these tyrants and extortioners, who themselves appropriate the taxes, tolls, and money they have squeezed out of us, and turn to such scandalous, abominable uses what ought to go into the general treasury, and serve for the good of the country? And as to resistance, let no one dare to breathe a murmur against it all, or he will be popped on the block and beheaded and quartered like a rascal guilty of treason; he will find less pity than a raging mad dog. Has God indeed given them such power? In what chapter, then, is it written? Yea, their power is from God, but only inasmuch as they are the devil's mercenaries, and Satan is their captain. Yea, they are verily avowed enemies of their country. What about those who claim a right of property over the bodies of others? Accursed be their unchristian, heathenish practices. What martyrs do they not make of us poor people. Our souls are in bondage to the spiritual lords, and our bodies to the secular ones."

But let the tyrants beware, the day of God's grace has come. The piteous cry of the labourers has entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth, and He has graciously inclined unto them. . . . "For that a province or a community has the right to depose its wicked overlords, I will prove by thirteen sayings out of the divine jurisprudence, which the hellish Porte, with all its crew of knights, cannot upset. But if they say such deposing of those in power is the business

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of the emperor and not of the subjects, they are a pack of geese? What if emperors and kings too were found useless? Dwells it not in the memory of man that even kings and emperors have been overthrown by their subjects? . . . Don't be fooled with this bugbear of tradition; let's have no more tradition—we want justice. A thousand years of wrong do not make one hour of justice." Traditional authority is incompatible with the common welfare. Rulers must be elected by the people for a definite period only, as Scripture and history both teach. "From the first emperor Julius to Charles the Great there were seventy-six Roman emperors, of whom thirty-four were horribly put to death, all on account of their own tyranny; some strangled, some beheaded, some burnt. . . . And all these great lords boast nowadays of inheriting their ancient exalted titles from Rome. Yes, they boast of an ancient pagan inheritance, and do not consider that we all come down from God, and not one of us is older by one minute, even in his descent, than another, be he king or herdsman. . . . When the chosen people had a democratic government, then God verily dwelt among them; they were wisely ruled and lived righteously. But when heathen greed devoured them, and drove them to set up a mighty king over them . . . God was sorely displeased with them, and foretold to them great misery and lamentation, with slavery and other punishments, which would come upon them from the violence of hereditary rulers."

All is not passionate denunciation, however, in this wild outburst. Let the peasants maintain strict discipline and choose good leaders. Let them abstain from plunder; let them remember the Swiss, and take courage, and rest not till mayhap the old prophecy be fulfilled that a cow shall stand on the Schwanenberg in the Franconian land, and shall look and low till it is heard in the middle of Switzerland. Let them eschew reconciliation. It will only be a hollow truce. "The lords and rulers do not want to be conciliated, they want to be tyrants, yea, gods." And let them remember what will come of weak compliance, fair-worded negotiations. "Off with the traitor to the nearest tower" will be the dictum. "You will be scourged with rods, baked in the oven. Your fingers will be chopped off,

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your tongues torn out; you will be hanged, beheaded, and quartered."

This philippic is worth quoting if only as an antidote to the still more violent philippic of Luther on the other side, to be noted presently. Such bitter, impassioned language implies a state of oppression which the chroniclers' denunciations of the popular restiveness fail to explain away.

These peasant programmes, whether purely agrarian or semi-political, do not exhaust the scope of the revolution. The poor man of the towns rose against his oppressor as well as the poor man of the country, and the civic proletariat are found fraternising with the peasants in the common endeavour to redress their grievances. All over the insurgent area the town proletariat swell the peasant bands in the crusade against class and wealth. Many of the towns had, in fact, a large rural population in their environs subject to their jurisdiction. Thus not merely the rural lord, but the town *Ehrbarkeit*, was called on to relinquish oppressive rights for the benefit of the common man. The common man in such towns—in Heilbron in Würtemberg, Rothenburg and Würzburg in Franconia, Salzburg in the archdiocese of that name, Mühlhausen in Thuringia, &c.—claimed the full right of citizenship, established a revolutionary committee in opposition to the town council, which was usually compelled to abdicate, demanded as a rule that all things should be common, attacked the corruption and maladministration of the town fathers, and insisted on the election of the council by all the citizens without distinction of wealth or class, and on the abolition of usury, monopoly, &c. In towns where the gilds were still held in subjection by the local patrician families, as at Mühlhausen, even the gildsmen are found allying themselves with the peasants and the proletariat. Mühlhausen, in fact, welcomed back its fugitive preacher, Münzer, and afforded him an opportunity of once more trying to inaugurate the reign of the elect. He and his fellow-exile, the ex-monk Pfeiffer, carried all before them, and united town and country, far and near, in the cause of ultra-radical, theocratic revolution. For in this Thuringian region Münzer succeeded in engrafting on the movement his personal notion of a Christian commonwealth. Its root idea is a fantastic communism to be

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established by the sword. This crack-brained prophet is merely the old priest in a new form. Every one must swear by his revelations at the peril not only of his soul, but of his body, for refusal. His inner light, which flashes from the Divine Spirit into the human soul, is as intolerant as the fierce zeal inspired in a Dominic, or a Loyola by visions of the Virgin or the saints. The only good side of him lies in his sympathy with the miserable, for his dreams and visions are divine revelations to smite the oppressor. But they lack the element of justice, unless we regard justice as a wild upwelling of passion, which will show no mercy to any one whom an ill-regulated fancy deems God's enemy. Fanatics of this stamp are the most terrible of tyrants, and Münzer's kingdom of God at Mühlhausen is a terrible theocratic tyranny, in which only the elect are to wield authority, and remorselessly crush freedom of opinion, individual liberty.

In these schemes of agrarian and civic reform the emperor seems almost to have disappeared, and the fact is a striking reminder of the inanition to which the central government had been reduced. The *Reichsregiment* of Maximilian—the imperial regency or government—had proved a miserable failure as an attempt to strengthen the imperial authority. The real authority lay with the princes in their respective territories. The empire was but a name; the Diet merely the creature of the princes. The peasants looked indeed to a rejuvenated emperor as their ideal protector against their oppressors, but they were unequal to the task of formulating any scheme of imperial reform. Social reform in town and country, "according to the word of God" more or less, and the mood of the moment, was their aspiration. The ferment of the time, however, stirred other minds than those of peasant politicians and evangelical preachers into activity, and in the scheme of Wendel Hipler, secretary of the Count of Hohenlohe and clerk of the Palatinate, and Frederick Weigant, the Vineyard Steward (Keller) of the Archbishop of Maintz at Miltenberg, we see the highest intellectual effort in political reconstruction. Hipler and Weigant were not original. They merely adapted the so-called "Reformation of Kaiser Frederick III." to the times, but they had the instinct of the patriotic statesman, and they strove to combine imperial with social reform, as well

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as to organise and direct the revolution by the establishment of a central committee at Heilbron. It was as members of this committee that they pressed their project into the arena of practical politics. Its keynote is the rehabilitation of the empire, not on the basis of the Bible, but of a sweeping reform of existing social and political institutions. Though it appeals to natural right and Christian freedom, it is constructive as well as destructive, and its moderation is as patent as that of the Twelve Articles. It demands, in the first place, the secularisation of ecclesiastical property for the common good, though compensation is to be allowed for loss incurred thereby. The community shall choose and support its own pastor, who shall concern himself solely with his spiritual duties. Princes and nobility are not deprived of their status. The old social hierarchy of princes, counts, knights, squires, burghers, peasants, shall remain. But the higher classes shall cease to oppress the people, and act towards them in a Christian spirit, and shall lose their feudal jurisdictions, their sovereign rights, and become imperial officials, the administrators of the central authority, the emperor. All leagues within the empire shall cease, and equal law and justice be meted out to all in accordance with natural right. To which end a nexus of courts, from the Reichskammergericht, the supreme imperial court, downwards to the court of the rural commune, shall be established, and each class shall have its share in the administration of justice. From these courts doctors of the Roman law shall be excluded, and be relegated to the lecture rooms of the universities. An imperial coinage, with local mints, shall take the place of a multitudinous currency; taxes, tolls, and other oppressive exactions cease, the emperor only to be entitled to levy a general tax every ten years; and the oppressive monopolist companies be abolished. Finally, all classes in this reformed empire are to live in brotherly love, and conform in spirit and action to the law of God and of nature as well as the law of the land.

Such, in general, are the ideas embodied in what is known as the Peasants' Rising or the "Boer War" of 1525. The movement embraced a moderate and an extreme party—the sober-minded and the fanatic, the honest man and the villain, the man of honour and the cut-throat, the bankrupt knight

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and the bankrupt merchant, the scum of the towns and the scum of the country, the politician as well as the preacher, the social reformer and the social iconoclast, the man who merely wanted to improve his lot, and the man who merely wanted to fight and plunder. Thus a goodly part of the rascaldom as well as the respectability of Germany was concerned in it. Not the whole of the rascaldom indeed, for a fair portion of it was to be found among the upper classes. The rascal in this or any other age certainly does not belong exclusively to any class. He wears a lord's and even a prince's coronet, yea, a bishop's or an abbot's mitre, as well as a peasant's blouse. This being so, it is to be expected that there are ugly facts to be recorded of the Christian brotherhood all over the insurgent area. The usual *modus operandi* was for the peasants of a wide district to gather together and threaten their lukewarm or obstinate fellow-rustics into joining their band. Those who refused to go "out of brotherly love" were fined, or "marked" by means of a post driven into the ground in front of their dwelling as a sign of outlawry. The Alsatian bands requisitioned every fourth man in a village. Having chosen a leader—an innkeeper by preference, for many of these enterprises were concocted in the village inn with the help of beer and wine—they scoured the country, sacking castles, monasteries, churches, and appropriating the spoil. Discipline being difficult to maintain, in spite of "the word of God," these bands usually finished up the rough performance by getting dead drunk on the contents of the wine cellar. The record of these feats of destruction and debauchery is not edifying reading. But a state of war being proclaimed, there is nothing particularly outrageous in the burning of castles, judged by the rules of the warfare of the time. In those days burning and plundering were fair tactics, and from the tactical point of view (always having regard to the notions of the time) the peasants might reasonably conclude that it was the most certain way to disable the enemy. Moreover, the Raubritter had set them a bad example in the matter of burning and plundering, and such things as kings or their generals, nay, even high church dignitaries, ravaging a whole countryside in war time had happened as a matter of course all through the Middle

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Ages. There is nothing particularly shocking, therefore, in the fact of the peasants burning castles instead of villages. But this is not regular warfare, remonstrate the legal men. It is certainly very irregular, from the standpoint of the higher classes, to find a whole empire all at once ablaze with intestine war. Hitherto feud and foray were the privilege of prince, lord, and *Ehrbarkeit*. And lo, here is the common man taking a leaf out of their book with a vengeance. Regular or irregular, it is merely a question of the use of force as the only remedy, of which the Middle Ages had furnished illustrations enough.

And the peasant had certainly given warning of what he intended to do if his terms were not accepted. The world had, in fact, long resounded with informal warnings. And yet these feudal lords of the manor are mightily amazed and mightily indignant. To judge from the tone of some of the chroniclers, it would seem as if the notion of mediæval warfare, as thus illustrated, was something unheard of in the world before. Mercenary armies in the service of some feudal potentate, the armed retainers of some robber baron, might burn villages far and near under the guise of legitimate tactics; for the villagers to profit by such examples to burn castles was a monstrous crime. The chroniclers forgot, too, in their indignant cant, that the peasant in so doing was often merely anticipating attack, for it was certain that these rustic armies would sooner or later have to reckon with the organised opposition of their oppressors. Had not, further, the Regent Ferdinand and the Suabian League been guilty of dishonourable double-dealing with the Suabian insurgents in order to gain time, and thereby contributed their full share of responsibility for this wild outburst of popular passion that followed these sham parleys at the outset? Had not Ferdinand directed Truchsess to amicably treat with the peasants till he had collected his forces together? The Suabian League adopted the same policy of false procrastination. Hence the blazing castles, whose destruction would, of course, at the same time furnish more gear and far more wine than the peasant could carry. But the sack of monasteries and churches? It is this that horrifies the chroniclers who, in this age of religious fury, happen to be devout Roman Catholics.

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Dr Janssen quotes largely from this source to show what a savage, unholy, God-forsaken crusade this Boer rising was. Now, the smashing and hacking of images and relics, the burning of massbooks, schoolmen and fathers, the spilling of sacramental wine, might savour of blasphemy in the eyes of those who still believed in transubstantiation. But it must not be forgotten that these things were regarded by most of the peasants as emblems of Antichrist. The robbery of church treasure, the seizure of cartloads of ecclesiastical property, the quaffing of huge bumpers of first-rate wine at many an unlucky ecclesiastic's expense, make an ugly spectacle. But if these facts prove the depravity or the greed of the insurgents, they plainly prove their utter contempt for a Church which had sadly neglected the moral education of the people, while tempting its covetousness by its overgrown wealth, often unrighteously acquired and shamelessly misapplied. Hatred of the traditional Church and its worthless ministers is, in fact, one of the most remarkable features of the movement. This hatred and its consequences are not to be explained by denunciations of sacrilege. There was more than mere greed of plunder in the wholesale destruction of the religious establishments which had made themselves hateful to a whole people by their abuses.

Apart from these outrages, of which the horrified chroniclers, who cannot understand why the world will not at times keep in its conventional course, make so much, it cannot be said that the peasant as a rule showed any savage desire to shed the blood of his enemies. All things considered, there are remarkably few excesses of murderous passion to record. In this respect the German insurrection of 1525 contrasts favourably with the French Jacquerie of 1358, or the English rising of 1381. The Weinsberg tragedy was exceptional. The butchery of Count Helfenstein and eighteen knights in the presence of the countess, a natural daughter of the Emperor Maximilian, was the work of the cut-throat Jäcklein Rohrbach, and was perpetrated against the orders of Rohrbach's superior, George Metzler. It was a ruffianly deed, but its perpetrators had been exasperated by the slaughter of one of the peasant bands under the walls of Weinsberg. As a rule, the peasants were content to make the lords who fell into their hands swear the

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articles and enrol themselves in the Brotherhood. They were willing enough to accept their oppressors as allies, and even as leaders, and among the chiefs of these rustic "Haufen" or bands we find men of knightly rank, like Florian Geyer of Franconia and Stephan Menzingen of Suabia. Götz von Berlichingen himself played the *rôle* of generalissimo of the united peasant bands at Heilbron.

Among those who were horrified by the doings of the peasants was Martin Luther. Luther at first adopted a fairly moderate, though at the same time an unsympathetic, attitude towards the movement. The peasants had invoked his name in testimony of the righteousness of their cause, and sought his opinion. This opinion he gave in "An Exhortation to Peace in response to the Twelve Articles of the Boers in Suabia." From which it is evident that, as far as the movement sprang from antagonism to intolerable oppression, Luther was inclined to be sympathetic. His sympathy, it is further evident, was all the more spontaneous in cases where the insurgents were the subjects of anti-Lutheran princes and lords. On the other hand, it is no less evident that the fact that Luther's theological opponents, like Carlstadt and Münzer, were among the prophets of the movement was sufficient to prejudice him against it. It must not be forgotten that to take a different side from Luther in any cause was, *ipso facto*, to incur denunciation. In the first place, he lays the responsibility for the situation on the princes and lords, and especially "the blind bishops and mad parsons and monks," who have despised every warning from God and man, and whose oppressions the poor common man cannot and may not longer endure. "I have proclaimed it already, Beware of the text, *Effundit Contemptum super Principes.* God, dear lords, not the peasants, it is who stands against you to punish your madness." He will show His wrath, especially against those "who have said that they will root out the teaching of Luther." For this outbreak he himself disclaims all responsibility. Those who would saddle him and his doctrine with rebellion are slanderers. It lies at their door and that of the false prophets (*i.e.*, Luther's opponents). Let them eschew harsh methods, and use reason with the Boers as with a drunk man or a lunatic. Some of their demands are reasonable. As

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Christians, the Boers have a right to the preaching of the gospel, and deliverance from the grievous exactions by which the upper classes welter in luxury and grind the poor in the dust.

He then turns to the peasants. Princes and lords, he admits, by their attitude towards the gospel and their arbitrary dealings with their subjects, well deserve to be overthrown by God. They have no excuse. If the peasants are acting with a good conscience, God will help them, even if they suffer defeat and death. But they must beware of believing "the spirits and preachers whom Satan has inspired under the guise of the gospel" (Luther has not forgotten Carlstadt). Let them not take God's name in vain. Let them be obedient to the powers that be. It is the old story—no individual or class may oppose injustice with force. However bad the princes and lords may be, they have no right to rise in rebellion. "Vengeance is mine," not yours, not even on grounds of natural right, is all that Luther has to say on the matter. Evidently, the peasants could not have invoked a more impracticable adviser. Don't listen to these preachers who advocate strong measures. They are inspired by the devil, and disgrace the gospel. "Suffering, suffering, cross, cross, that is the Christian's right, and no other." Let them trust in God; he himself has done so, and see what God hath done for him in spite of pope and kaiser and all other tyrants. True; but to tell these peasants that they have no right as Christians to insist on their emancipation from serfdom, because Abraham and the patriarchs and prophets had serfs, was pure idiocy, and proves conclusively that the theologian Luther was not the man to set things right in an age when other minds besides those of the theologians had started into activity.

The peasants, of course, paid no heed to this sort of antiquated, grandmotherly talk. They ignored Luther in their preference for the preachers of rebellion, and Luther, on his part, waxed savage. He exhausted his rich vocabulary of expletives in their denunciation. They were doing pure "devil's work," which was to some extent true enough, and the philippic has some justification as against the ravings of a Münzer, "the arch devil who rules at Mühlhausen." But

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Luther erred in mistaking Münzer as the mouthpiece of the German peasants. He forgot that these men had practical grievances to redress, and were taking the most practical way of forcing this redress in the rough fashion of the times. He was decidedly in error, too, in ascribing wholesale a sanguinary character to the movement. To judge from his savage tone, the peasants were a set of wanton murderers, while the fact is that murder was the exception, not the rule. He can on no account condone rebellion against constituted authority. A rebel may be put to death by any one without further ado, as one would hasten to put out a fire by any means possible. Verily, the barbarous language of the theologian outdoes that of the Mühlhausen prophet in its ferocity. "Therefore strike, throttle, stab, secretly or openly, whoever can, and remember that there is nothing more poisonous, more hurtful, more devilish than a rebellious man." "These are fine Christians. I believe that there is no longer a single devil in hell; they have all taken possession of the peasants." "Strike down the devils" is, therefore, the key-note of this wild shriek of vengeance "Against the murderous and thievish bands of the Boers," as he called his maniac effusion. His belief in the devil, and his slavish doctrine of passive obedience, made him a raving savage. It is indeed a strange aberration of mind that now finds in princes and lords the servants of God to kill, hang, and burn as God's deputies. Formerly we were occasionally reminded that they too, in opposing Luther more especially, were the agents of the devil. Now they are saints. Nay, "whoever is slain in the cause of constituted authority is a true martyr in the sight of God," whereas, "whoever is killed on the Boers' side will burn for ever in hell" (*ein ewiger Höllebrand ist*). Now is the time to make martyrs. "Therefore, dear lords," runs the grim conclusion, "stab, strike, throttle who can." This savage conclusion is its own judgment, and the judgment is to brand Luther with indelible disgrace, both as a theologian and a Christian, as far as this episode of his history is concerned. No wonder that he felt compelled to write a defence and an explanation in the form of a "sendbrief" to the Chancellor of Mansfeld, Caspar Müller. Neither defence nor explanation is satisfactory. Though the son of a poor man, Luther had no

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active sympathy with the class from which he sprang. He has his human side, especially in social intercourse with his students and fellow-doctors, but he plays the theologian pure and simple towards the common man, and cannot understand why he cannot be content to suffer for the benefit of the higher classes. While the apostle of rebellion against pope and priest, he is the apostle of force and subjection against the mass of his fellow-men. For he would not recall the blood-thirsty tract, nor apologise for it as the offspring of momentary passion. "As the ass must have blows, so the mass must be ruled by force," is his fixed conviction, and his remedy for recalcitrant servants was the patriarchal one of "treating serfs like any other beast." He joined with Spalatin and Melancthon in making light of Knight Einsiedel's conscientious scruples about his feudal rights over his peasants. Spalatin jocularly told him to try "a dear little consolation psalm." Even the "mild" Melancthon had no compunction in turning the screw on the common man. In the refutation of the Twelve Articles which he wrote for the Elector Palatine he pronounced the serfish condition of the people far too mild, and strongly advocated the more rigorous application of the criminal law. Had he ever peered into the torture chamber at Nürnberg? The prince, he insists, has the right to demand absolute submission to his will, to tax his subjects at discretion, without giving any account of how he applies the revenue so raised. He may even alienate the common lands for his own profit.

Luther's brutal thirst for the blood of the insurgents was destined to receive an early quenching. The princes were preparing to take a terrible vengeance in the spirit of their theological mentor. The peasants, though inspiring terror far and near by the pillage of castles and monasteries, had wasted their strength and their opportunity in these wild outbursts of violence. The movement was widespread, but it was not cohesive. The hundreds of thousands in the field were split into many bands, which engaged in local raids and sieges, but did not co-operate in any general plan of operations. There does not seem, in fact, to have been a general plan of operations covering the whole area, for the committee at Heilbron never got into proper working order, and had no

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firm grip on the movement. This lack of cohesion gave the princes and lords the opportunity of attacking in detail, and thus discounting numbers by tactics. Moreover, the moderate party, which was for compromise to the extent of the modification of the articles, did not pull with the extreme party, which would hear of nothing but a compulsory levelling of society. The operations in Franconia show, indeed, some attempt to carry out a combined movement against the Frauenberg, the castle of the Bishop of Würzburg. Here a formidable concentration of the insurgent bands from Franconia and Würtemberg, under Götz von Berlichingen, Florian Geyer, George Metzler, and Wendel Hipler, took place. But the peasant army was but an ill-disciplined horde, which could not be taught to obey orders, and got drunk whenever a chance offered. "The peasants were always drunk," we are told, "and would not be ruled by any man." Time was wasted in negotiations, and the attack on the Frauenberg proved a disastrous failure.

Those of the Black Forest and the Breisgau had a gleam of success in the capitulation of Freiburg, while across the Rhine the men of Alsace, to the number of twenty thousand, compelled Zabern to open its gates. Further north the insurgents took a town here and there, and wrested from the Elector Palatine Ludwig the promise of concessions and a general amnesty. But the capitulation of a town here and there, and the exaction of a few promises from Elector Ludwig, who invited some of the peasant leaders to dine with him at Neustadt, were far from bringing about the peasant millennium.

Still further north, in Thuringia, where Münzer was preaching fire and sword on the popular side, with a ferocity equal to that of Luther on behalf of the higher orders, the movement, though wearing a very threatening aspect, never rose above the level of local revolt. Münzer, indeed, contemplated an united crusade which should swell over the whole of Germany, but he had not time to realise his project, and was besides too much of a visionary to succeed in the attempt. He managed to set the Thuringian region ablaze with revolt; when it came to organised resistance the campaign broke miserably down. His prophecies of divine intervention, after the manner of the Old Testament, only

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lured his misguided followers to their doom in thousands. "Strike, strike, strike," cried the terrible fanatic. "Do not let yourselves be moved to pity even though Esau should speak fair words to you. Regard not the lamentation of the godless." "Strike, strike, strike," he reiterated, "while the iron is hot. Keep your swords warm with the blood of tyrants. Strike, strike, strike. God goes before you. . . . It is the Lord's battle, not yours. It is not you who are fighting. Therefore strike with God's help." Frenzy like this could not supply the place of drill and organisation, as "Thomas Münzer with the sword of Gideon" learned to his cost shortly after at Frankenhausen. Here on the 20th May Thomas took post with eight thousand of his dupes to defy the united army of the Landgrave of Hesse, Duke George of Saxony, and Duke Henry of Brunswick, which was about the same strength. With fanatic confidence these ill-armed and ill-disciplined peasants awaited the onset, while Münzer bade them look at the rainbow above as a sign of God's presence. In this deluded spirit they refused to listen to those who counselled submission on the promise of amnesty. Münzer bade them remember Gideon and David, and had two of the opposition, a nobleman and a priest, decapitated on the spot. The rabble behind the barricade of waggons joined in the hymn, "Nun bitten wir den Heiligen Geist" ("Now we beseech the Holy Ghost"), and looked upwards for the army of angels to rend the heavens and descend to their help. Whilst thus engaged the landgrave's men-at-arms came crash over the rustic stockade, and in a twinkling the army of God's elect was a horde of fugitives, among whom the spears and swords of trained soldiers did fearful execution. Thousands were shot, hacked, or speared. The streets of Frankenhausen, where many sought refuge, were soaked with blood. "We have taken Frankenhausen," wrote Landgraf Philip the following day, "stabbed to death all the male prisoners found there, and plundered the town, and with the help of God obtained a victory for which we have cause to be very thankful to the Almighty, and we hope in this to have accomplished a good work." It was a grim work at any rate, Graf Philip. Among the few prisoners spared was Münzer himself, who was caught in the loft where he had sought

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concealment, and who lived to brave torture indeed, but to make a cowardly recantation of his errors, and die on the scaffold as a repentant son of Holy Church.

Three days before the rout of Frankenhausen, Truchsess, who had been reinforced by contingents of mercenaries returned from the Italian war, and by the troops of the Elector Palatine, had inflicted a severe defeat on the Würtemberg peasants between Böblingen and Sindelfingen. He thereafter took a terrible vengeance on Weinsberg by burning it and the neighbouring villages to the ground, and slowly roasting to death a couple of the murderers of Count Helfenstein. A fortnight later followed at Königshofen the rout of a section of the Franconian army, which had been deserted by Götz von Berlichingen. Shortly after, another section led by Florian Geyer maintained a desperate but hopeless resistance in the castle of Ingolstadt. Truchsess then advanced on Würzburg, which, through the treachery of the burgomaster and the council, opened its gates to his vengeance. He then directed his course southwards into Upper Suabia, to complete the bloody work of repression by the aid of the treachery of some of the peasant leaders. The ferocity with which he accomplished his task was surpassed by that of the Duke of Lorraine in Alsace, who, according to Leonhard von Eck, slaughtered twenty thousand of the insurgents, mostly in cold blood, and subsequently accounted for a good many thousands more. In Salzburg and Tyrol the struggle lasted into the year 1526, but even the brave Tyrolese mountaineers were at length cowed into submission, and their leader, Gaismayr, driven to seek an asylum in Italy.

The regular operations, which had been bloody enough, ended, the horrible work of punishment in detail began. This horrible work was called bringing the rebels to justice. Revenge is the only fitting word for it. It was indeed a most inhuman business, though very gratifying to every cut-throat who wore a prince's or a lord's coronet, or a bishop's or abbot's mitre, or boasted a knight's escutcheon. Among these cut-throats the worst were the Margrave Casimir of Brandenburg, the Duke of Lorraine, and the Bishop of Würzburg, while among the few who showed humanity and moderation the Landgrave Philip of Baden and the Elector of the Palatinate deserve

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honourable mention. The orgy of brutality, by which the independent spirit of the peasants was crushed, is an indelible disgrace to German civilisation in the sixteenth century. In this respect civilisation falls back into pure savagery. The outburst of peasant passion, which after all exhausted itself against the property, not the person, of the oppressor, was meekness itself compared with the fiendish cruelty of many of their victorious masters. In Tyrol, where the resistance was longer, this savagery sated itself with impaling, flaying, quartering prisoners; in other regions it contented itself with hanging, decapitation, chopping off fingers, gouging out eyes, massacres, with an occasional *auto-da-fé* by way of variety. Truchsess' hangman, Berthold Aichlin, became the terror of the Suabian Boers, and the number of the executions in the territory of the Suabian League is reckoned as high as ten thousand. Of the doings of Margrave Casimir in Anspach-Baireuth and the bishopric of Würzburg, many a horrible tale is told. This cut-throat, who had at first coquetted with the Franconian insurgents in the hope of turning the bishopric into a Franconian duchy for himself, "massacred," says Lorenz Fries, "men, women, and children." "On the 9th June he caused fifty-eight burghers of Kitzingen to have their eyes publicly gouged out by the hangman, amid the wailing and lamentations of women and children." "And they wandered about afterwards in the country," adds the scribe, "presenting a melancholy spectacle, holding each other by the hands, and begging as they went." "The Margrave," writes another, "has all the captains of the rebel army beheaded; he has them stabbed, robbed of their goods and chattels, and burnt to death. He has burned down numbers of villages, and is still going on with his incendiary work and his terrible punishments. Whenever he comes across one of the insurgents he has his head chopped off, or his fingers." For other outrages the margrave could adduce the commission of Truchsess, which empowered him to proceed against the town and district of Rotenburg "with slaughter, seizures, incendiarism, and plunder." The following brief mention of the doings of the Duke of Lorraine at Zabern and elsewhere speaks for itself. "The duke has slain about 20,000 peasants," reports the Chancellor von Eck with satisfaction, "and the

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bodies were left lying one upon another till they stank, so that many women in the neighbourhood ran away, leaving their children behind them to die of hunger. Afterwards the said duke massacred another 4,000, and then marched straight off to where another band of them was in revolt, so that we may soon look forward to seeing perfect quiet established all along the Rhine." "The villages stand empty," notes Margrave Ernest of Baden, "the poor women and children are taking to flight, and there is great misery and lamentations." "There is no end to the chopping off of heads," says Spalatin. "The number of widows and orphans is growing preposterously large."

Misery indeed took possession of the land, for not only were 100,000 peasants butchered, at the lowest computation (the Bishop of Spires mentions 150,000), but many thousands more sought safety in flight across the Swiss border, and into other lands far and near. The misery was increased by the insensate vengeance that would not discriminate between the guilty and the innocent. "No matter," wrote a burgher of Rotenburg, "whether a peasant or a burgher be innocent, he has to pay indemnity to the League all the same. Several of my peasants who had nothing to do with the insurrection have already been burnt to death." "The very stones," says Cochlaeus, "might be moved to pity by so much misery and poverty."

Ultimately, it began to dawn on these savage repressors that this frenzy of revenge had gone too far, even from the point of view of self-interest. It occurred to them that after all they could not dispense with these rebellious peasants, and that they had better leave a remnant to cultivate their domains for them. "If all our peasants are put to death in this manner," remonstrated Margrave George to his brother Casimir, "where shall we find others to grow our food?" From motives of self-interest, therefore, if not of humanity, the gruesome drama came at last to an end. But what an ending for the common man! Not only was his lot unspeakably wretched for the time being, all hope of any improvement of his status was dashed for centuries. Before him was a chaos of despair, and the shock to his faith in a new age made him a pessimist, a sceptic. "Why preaches the parson of

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God?" sneered the peasant. "Who knows what God is, or if there be a God?" By his violence, his lack of discipline, his bibulousness, his inexperience in tactics, his proneness to panic in the presence of the trained soldier, the treachery of some of his leaders, the incapacity of others, he had lost what was in the main a good cause—the cause of justice against oppression, practical Christianity against a tyrannic and degrading social system which was but a parody of true religion. He had failed to vindicate claims which a more enlightened age has come to regard as rights, and he was now, except in a few cases, as in Baden, whose margrave granted some reforms, to reap the penalty of failure in the tightening of his bonds, the aggravation of his oppression. "After the victories they have gained," says the chronicler Anshelm, "the princes and lords have become more merciless and unyielding than before, so that those who either from fear or from impotence had left their dependants unmolested, and those (of whom there were but few) who had the reputation for some share of mercy and goodness, were now alike moved to greater severity, thinking to restrain the ass with a tighter bit and curb, and thus keep him in check." Social reform was killed, social abuse had received a new lease of life. The leases and feudal titles which the peasants had torn up were replaced by new ones, far more exacting. Or, worse still, the only lease or title was henceforth the lord's arbitrary will. From bad, things had gone to worse. While the price of food continued to rise, wages fell to half of what they had previously been. "The peasants," says Sebastian Münster, "lead miserable, abject lives. Their homes are wretched huts made of wood and mud, standing on the earth and roofed with straw; their food is black rye bread, oatmeal porridge, and boiled peas and lentils; water and whey are their drinks; a pair of *bundschuhs* and a felt hat make up their clothing. They are obliged to render frequent service to their lords during the year, to till the fields, to sow seeds, to chop wood, and dig graves. There is nothing that these poor folk are not expected to do, and they cannot evade their duties without penalty."

Thus the peasant revolution in Germany in the sixteenth century was a total failure as an effort of social progress. We have called it a revolution, and, in its violent character, it

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was revolutionary enough. But the revolution, as far as the purely agrarian programmes were concerned, was not the outcome of new ideas. Some of its leaders, like Hipler and Weigant, rose to the more modern view of a free State. Some even contemplated a complete overthrow of the existing political as well as social institutions. The reaction against feudalism must, too, have led to political and social progress. In general, however, the trend of the revolution was towards the past rather than the future. It sought to re-establish primitive rights and primitive Christianity, and in this respect it did not go beyond the Middle Ages. In this it resembles, too, the English agrarian revolution of the fourteenth century, though it was less fortunate in its ultimate results. While the English villein became practically a free man in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the German Bauer remained a serf till the French Revolution.

The suppression of the revolution had an important effect on the German Reformation. The hope that religious reform would become the instrument of social reform was blasted. The preachers who had worked for a reformation of society, as well as of the Church, were crushed in the general crash; and in those lands where Catholic princes held sway, the repression of the rebellion sealed at the same time the fate of the religious reformation itself. In a large part of the south Roman Catholicism triumphed with the victory of the princes and lords; and thus Luther, in championing so fiercely the cause of class against mass, was in reality working into the hands of his enemies. In the other half of Germany his cause indeed triumphed, but it triumphed at the cost of thirling it to princely and aristocratic interests. Lutheranism ceased to be a popular creed. The populace hated him and his henchmen, Melancthon and Spalatin, as panderers to tyrants. "We see," confessed Melancthon, "how much the mob hates us." And Luther certainly did his best, by his dogged insistence on the gospel of force, to deserve the hatred of the people. He continued to glory in his wild philippic against them. "It was I, Martin Luther, who slew all the peasants during the insurrection, for I commanded them to be slaughtered; all their blood is on my head. But I throw the responsibility on our Lord God, who instructed me to give this order." "Like

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the drivers of donkeys," wrote he in 1526, "who have to belabour their animals incessantly with rods and whips, so must the rulers do with Herr Omnes (the people). They must drive, beat, throttle, hang, burn, behead, and torture, in order to make themselves feared and keep the people in check." The people in the regions under Luther's influence became or remained Lutherans, because the "Obrigkeit" took Luther's side, and they must perforce profess the religion of their prince. Lutheranism became a religion of subordination, political nullity for "the common man." It indeed planted schools and cared for the poor, but it was no large gospel of progress such as the lower classes thirsted for, and under it they remained in serfish dependence for two hundred and fifty years to come. On the other hand, it contributed materially to strengthen the *régime* of the absolute potentate, whether elector, duke, or margrave. Luther, Melancthon, Spalatin, and other reforming doctors, swam with the political current which was bearing the absolute ruler to port alike in Germany, France, Spain, and Italy. They defended the doctrine of the divine right of the few as dogmatically as they inculcated the divine law of submission for the many. They dethroned the pope; they set up the absolute king, against whom rebellion is crime. Passive resistance might be permissible in matters of conscience, in cases more especially of antagonism to the Lutheran theology. The Christian subject may not deny God at the prince's command, but he may not actively resist. Even this modicum of opposition was swept away by Martin Bucer, who insisted that subjects must obey commands even when contrary to the word of God. For this extreme concession he sought compensation by demanding that all professors of a false religion, presumably Roman Catholics and dissenters from Lutheranism, should be exterminated by fire and sword. Even women and children, yea, the very cattle of these false professors, might lawfully be destroyed.

Political and social progress was stifled in Germany for two hundred and fifty years to come. The Anabaptist attempt to found, at Münster, the kingdom of God on earth once more was a mere after-bubble of the ultra-religious element of the Peasant Rising. Its extravagance, which outdid the fanaticism of Münzer, never allowed it to rise above the level of social and

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political quackery. It was a fiasco ending in a tragedy. It developed into pure religious madness, which is of interest to us only as showing that the common man in some districts of the empire was still capable of being deluded by fanatics who worked on his religious fancy by their revelations, and mixed up social reform with religious quackery. It is only fair to remember, however, that all the sects slumped together under the opprobrious name of Anabaptists were not of the degraded stamp of the fanatics of Münster. Many of these sectaries were indeed most excellent Christians, but they had little or no influence on social and political development, and were superciliously regarded as the outcasts of society. They nevertheless deserve remembrance as the champions, in their own religious way, of mind and conscience, not only against the traditions of the Church but against the biblical dogmatism of Luther. They showed a staunch spirit of resistance to tyranny, whether secular or ecclesiastical, and, if not always reasonable, its heroic persistence was admirable. They would not fight against their fellow-men; they protested loudly against mere conventional opinion. Some of their objections seemed puerile enough. Eccentric persons we should call them, but the eccentric person is sometimes needful, and Anabaptists of this type may claim to have belonged to the enlightened few of their age. Even simple men like Henitz Krauth and Jobst Moller and Hans Peissker could teach the learned dogmatist at Wittenberg some salutary truths. "God," said these simple men to Melancthon, "was not such a God as would damn a little child for the sake of a drop of water." And for such opinions these simple men were condemned to die, with Melancthon's approval, by the Lutheran secular authority. And the freer theological tendency represented by such men as Denck, Schwenkfeld, Sabastian Franck, certainly did not deserve the hatred which thirsted for their blood. We like such men all the better because their own age hated them.

SOURCES.—The following tracts of Luther in his Werke: Ermahnung zum Frieden auf die 12 Artikel der Bauerschaft in Schwaben (1525); Wider die Mörderischen und Rauberischen Kotten der Bauern (1525); Ein Sendbrief von dem harten

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Büchlein wider die Bauern (1525). The number of works dealing with the Peasants' War is very large. Those of Baumann, Quellen zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges in Oberschwaben (1877), and Zimmermann, Allgemeine Geschichte des grossen Bauernkrieges (1856, and the edition of Blos 1891), are the most exhaustive. The fullest account in English is that of Bax, The Peasants' War in Germany (1899). See also the works of Bezold, Janssen, Ranke, already noted, of which the first contains the best short account of the movement—sympathetic, but impartial. Janssen and Ranke are alike prejudiced against it, and Ranke's account is besides extremely weak. He has nothing to say in condemnation of Luther's rabid tract, and dismisses it in three sentences. One of them is a recognition of the reformer's intrepidity! For the Anabaptists and other sects see Heath, Anabaptism (1895), and Beard, The Reformation of the Sixteenth Century (1883).

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CHAPTER V.

PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION IN GERMANY, AND ITS RESULTS.

LUTHER and his fellow-theologians had thus unreservedly thrown in their lot with the antagonists and conquerors of the peasants. They had fairly earned the goodwill and patronage of an Elector of Saxony, a Landgrave of Hesse, though at the cost of incurring the hatred of the people. It was a heavy price to pay for princely protection, especially from the ethical standpoint. It was unfortunate, to say the least, that the reforming theologians did not take up a more independent and a more Christian attitude towards a movement which, from the practical point of view, was as religious a movement as that which took its rise from the monk's cell at Erfurt. If true religion consists in the love of man as well as the love of God, it was incumbent on the religious teachers of the age to insist on reforms which had for their object the social as well as the spiritual welfare of the masses. Luther had indeed counselled the princes and nobles to deal justly with the common man. He even warned them of the consequences of unjust oppression. But when it came to the point he allowed panic and prejudice to carry him away into the fiercest partisanship on the side of repression, and indulged in the most heartless gibes at the beaten democracy's expense. In this respect the Reformation under his auspices missed its grandest opportunity—the opportunity of allying religion with social progress, and thus making the Reformation a social force as well as a doctrinal movement. It became merely an aristocratic, a middle-class movement. There was far too much stress laid by the reformers on sound doctrine, far too little on primitive Christianity. Social amelioration in Germany was consequently, as far as the Lutheran Reformation was concerned, an abortion.

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Luther, it may be said apologetically, could not help himself. He might have stood for the people against the princes, but in that case he would have exposed his cause to irretrievable ruin. He was under the ban of the empire, and if the elector and the landgrave had withdrawn their protection he would have become a helpless outlaw, and the Reformation would have been outlawed with him. The fate of Franz von Sickingen and the peasants shows what would have been the fate of Luther if his princely protectors had been his enemies. This is, nevertheless, a questionable conclusion. During the few years that intervened between the Diet of Worms and the Peasant Rising the Reformation had struck root in a large area of Southern and Central Germany, and, had Luther taken a less anti-popular attitude and tried to direct the social movement, it is probable that, with such a leader, the princes would have been compelled to compromise, and include social as well as religious reform in their policy. Unfortunately, Luther was not made for such a *rôle*. He was a mighty theological controversialist. He was not the man to rise above his own experience and become the leader of a greater cause than that of doctrinal reform—the cause of humanity. Perhaps, too, this large movement was more than any mortal could have attempted to lead with success. Certainly, a mere theologian, such as Luther essentially was, was not the man to achieve success. All that we have a right to demand of him is that he should not have done his utmost to contribute to its failure. If he had cursed less and counselled more, he would have been both a better man and a better theologian.

In his attitude towards the peasants Luther appeared as the uncompromising apologist of constituted authority. In taking up this attitude he was not only outrageous, he was inconsistent. Was not he himself the greatest rebel of the age? Had he not risen in revolt against the oldest of all constituted authorities—the pope? Had he not defied the emperor, next to the pope the most august authority in Christendom? Had he not at Worms defied pope, emperor, council, diet? Was he not under the imperial ban? True, the sentence against him was not passed in due form. The ban was the result of a catch vote, of mean tactics on the part

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of his enemies, the emperor included. He took the right, the noble course at Worms in appealing in such a matter to his conscience, the Bible, reason against an authority merely external. Still he was a rebel against both Church and State as then constituted, and his only argument was an appeal to the necessity of the case. The appeal was grand, but it ill became the man whose whole case was based on defiance to established order in Church and State to curse the peasants for following his example, and opposing right to law, justice to convention. From first to last the Reformation inaugurated and maintained by him rested on the assumption that revolution in a great cause is justifiable. It was an assumption for which humanity may well thank God, and canonise those who, at great crises of the world's history, have had the courage to make it and the persistence to defend it.

In making and defending it, at this particular crisis, Luther created an epoch in the world's history. He would fain have remained an obedient subject of the emperor, would fain have attained his end by praying and preaching. But the plain fact remains that he had thrown down the gauntlet to established authority in the Church as represented by the pope, and the State as represented by the emperor and the diet, and only persistent opposition to the will of the hitherto recognised head of the Church and the hitherto recognised head of the empire could bear the Reformation to a triumphant issue.

One thing was absolutely certain. Charles was from the outset immovably hostile to Luther, and would never, if he could help it, suffer the appeal from constituted authority to conscience. He was not only constitutionally and by training incapable of understanding, far less of sympathising with, the spirit of the reformer. To him, as to Francis I., Protestantism was a disloyal religion. It was equivalent to rebellion, and as he understood rebellion he was right in his conclusion. If it was rebellion to appeal from man to God, from constituted authority to conscience, Luther was undoubtedly a rebel, as all progressive spirits have been rebels. Everybody at this period was a rebel who presumed to differ from received opinion, if received opinion had the force of

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tradition and law behind it. Luther himself and all the reformers were to act on this assumption when on the track of those dissenters who could not see eye to eye with them in matters of doctrine. Charles had indeed some sympathy with reform. He was the champion of that reforming policy which had many exponents within the Church, especially among Spanish churchmen. Reform was, too, for him a capital political device. He could on occasion frighten the pope with its spectre, and he did not hesitate to make use of it to further his designs, especially when his holiness happened to be his political enemy. He did desire, nevertheless, to ameliorate the Church. His panacea was a General Council, with, if need be, even without, the co-operation of the pope. But his reform policy did not extend to the doctrine or constitution of the Church. A disruption of the Church did not accord with his ideas of political and ecclesiastical unity. National or territorial churches were incompatible not only with the supremacy of the pope but with that of the emperor, the supremacy of each being indispensable to the other. He was, on this ground alone, hostile to Luther from the beginning, and he continued hostile to the end. "This man will never make a heretic of me," he burst out after listening to his plea at Worms. Thirty-five years later, in his seclusion at San Juste, he regretted that he had not ignored the imperial safe-conduct, and treated the heretic Luther as Sigismund had treated the heretic Hus. He persecuted his adherents wherever he had a free hand, as in the Netherlands, and the cruelty of the persecution is a dark blot on what is, on the whole, a rather unsympathetic character. He was and remained a bigoted Catholic as far as a statesman who was involved in the political whirlpool of an age of conflict for fully a third of a century could allow himself to be a bigot.

Fortunately for the Reformation in Germany, Charles could not afford to play the bigot, and Luther could afford to play the rebel. Luther was the champion of a national as well as a religious movement. It was too popular to be quashed by the surreptitious edict of the partisan majority of the Diet of Worms. Charles might have defied popular sentiment, though it would have been dangerous to do so, but Luther had a number of the princes as well as the people on

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his side. The protection of the Elector Frederick saved him from destruction, and Frederick was only one of many powerful supporters. The pope demanded in vain the enforcement of the edict from Diet after Diet (at Nürnberg in 1523, at Nürnberg again in 1524, at Spires in 1526). He was met with the counter-demand for the reformation of abuses (the *gravamina*), and, even if these Diets brought out the fact of the antagonism of a powerful Catholic party to Luther, they showed the determination of a growing party among the princes and the cities to stand by him. By 1526 Luther had a large following in South, Central, and Northern Germany, and had found intrepid missionaries among the ranks of his own order of the Augustines to preach it from the Alps to the Baltic. The Catholic party might organise itself in the League of Ratisbon-Dessau (July 1525). The Protestant party retorted with the League of Torgau-Magdeburg (June 1526), and this league could now count on the staunch support not only of the Elector John of Saxony and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse, but of the Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg, the Duke of Brunswick-Grubenhagen, Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt-Köthen, the Counts of Mansfield, Albrecht of Prussia, Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, the Margrave of Brandenburg-Culmbach, Frederick of Denmark, who as Duke of Schleswig-Holstein was a member of the empire, a bishop even, George Polenz, bishop of Samland, and the cities of Bremen, Hamburg, Magdeburg, Nürnberg, Augsburg, Ulm, Constance, Strassburg. Luther had indeed, ecclesiastically, disrupted the empire, and the rent was destined not only to endure but to widen.

The fact was virtually recognised by the Diet of Spires (1526), which, instead of executing the Edict of Worms, as Charles demanded, decided that each prince should act in matters of religion as should appear accordant with his responsibility to God and the emperor, till a free General Council could be convened (Recess of Spires). This might be the toleration of expediency rather than of principle, but it was a virtual confession on the part of the Catholic party that Lutheranism had won for itself the right of recognition by the imperial Diet, and that the policy of repression was, in the circumstances, a hopeless policy. Assuredly an eloquent

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tribute to the power of the man who, but five years before, had been proclaimed an outlaw, and of the activity of disciples like Bugenhagen, Melancthon, Amsdorf, Justin Jonas, &c. "No Diet," said Spalatin, "has hitherto spoken so freely, so bravely, so defiantly, against pope, bishops, and clergy as this Diet of Spires." Emperor and pope seemed to have utterly lost control over the situation. The religious destiny of Germany had passed from the hands of pope and emperor to Luther and the princes. The Reichs-regiment, or central Government, could no more enforce the papal and imperial will against Luther and the princes than it could stop the current of the Rhine.

To Charles both the Recess of Spires and the assumption of the right to make it were an offence. For the present he was compelled to digest it as best he could. The union of so many crowns on one head was, after all, the real saviour of Luther. Had Charles been free to bring the vast power which his many dignities represented, to bear on the question, nothing could, humanly speaking, have prevented him from crushing the Reformation. But the very vastness of his power hindered him from making effective use of it. As King of Spain he was the rival of the King of France for predominance in Italy, and, though he had just emerged in triumph from the tremendous struggle to assert this predominance at Pavia, his success had roused the fears of the pope and estranged his ally, Henry VIII. Both Henry and the pope had consequently become his enemies, and the year following the Diet of Spires saw the sack of Rome under his auspices—a feller blow to the papal prestige than that delivered by Luther at Worms. Charles and Luther might almost pass for allies in the same cause, and under the pressure of political expediency Charles did not scruple to play off Luther against the pope, who had engineered the League of Cognac. The league immersed him once more in a struggle with his rival of France, who had only regained his freedom to disregard the terms of his deliverance and declare war. Success again rewarded the skill of the imperial generals and the superiority of his statecraft, and the success which forced both the pope and the French king to come to terms at Barcelona and Cambrai respectively (June and August 1529) was a grave

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menace to Luther and his followers. The Recess had not prevented the persecution of Lutherans in Catholic States, and at a second Diet which met at Spires in February 1529 the Catholic majority proved, at his instigation, decidedly hostile. If it did not go all the length in the direction of reaction that Charles demanded, and resented his autocratic tone, it gave expression to the determination that Catholicism was to be the dominant religion within the empire, and that Lutheranism was only to exist on sufferance. There was to be toleration for Catholics in Lutheran States, but no toleration for Lutherans in Catholic States, and in both the followers of Zwingli were to be suppressed. This meant a dead halt for the Lutheran movement, and would be followed in due course by its suppression. The Lutheran princes (six in number) and fourteen cities protested on the ground that no unanimous decision of a former Diet could be repealed by a mere majority, and appealed to conscience as the true arbiter in things religious (20th April 1529). "We fear God's wrath more than we fear the emperor's law" was the retort of these "Protestants," in spite of Melancthon's nervous apprehensions for the consequences. They chose the manly course of opposing God and conscience to Kaiser and majority, be the consequences what they might. As at Worms, so at Spires, conscience won the victory, in spite of the fact that conscience was in the minority. Unfortunately, as the terrible decree against the Anabaptists shows, the victory was not a victory for the rights of the Protestant conscience in the wider sense. The men who protested against the oppression of the Lutheran conscience voted, with the noble exception of the landgrave, for the destruction of Anabaptists by fire and sword without distinction of sex.

True, it looked as if the emperor, with the majority at his back, would now make short shrift with the Protestant minority, which was unfortunately further weakened by the outburst of controversy between Lutherans and Zwinglians. In the end of December 1529 the imperial coronation at Bologna proclaimed to the world the reconciliation of pope and emperor. Six months later Charles rode into Augsburg to win or overawe the Protestants into submission. Instead of yielding, their theologians presented a confession of their faith

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—the Augsburg Confession—and to this confession they clung, in spite of Melancthon's pliability and "the Confutation" of the champions of Catholic orthodoxy. Charles, of course, decided for the Confutation, and a Recess of the Catholic majority of the Diet gave the Protestants six months to surrender or take the consequences, and meanwhile ordered them to forbear further innovations.

The majority had triumphed once more, and yet again the victory lay with the minority. It was one thing to condemn the Protestants; it was another thing to overcome them. Not only were the Catholic princes, with one or two exceptions, not prepared to draw the sword on behalf of their faith; the chief of them, Duke Ludwig of Bavaria, was jealous of the Habsburg power, was as hostile as the Elector of Saxony to the proposal to make Charles' brother Ferdinand King of the Romans, and was intriguing for political purposes with the elector and the landgrave. Charles had neither men nor money to enforce the will of this unreliable majority, and his international relations once more precluded a policy of repression. He had now to reckon with the enmity of Henry of England, whom the question of the divorce from his aunt, Queen Catherine, had made a possible protector of the Protestant cause, not only in England but in Germany. Francis, too, could not be trusted, and was busy plotting mischief with Henry at his expense, was in fact ready on occasion to belie his orthodoxy by intriguing with the German heretics and even with the Sultan Soliman himself, who was threatening not only the empire but Christianity with ruin.

The Protestants were, moreover, determined to fight, if need be, for their faith; and even Luther, under stress of necessity, now threw his slavish doctrine of passive resistance, as against an anti-Protestant emperor or prince, to the winds. Up to the Diet of Augsburg he had strenuously set his face against even the defensive combination of the Protestant princes, such as the Landgrave Philip had been striving to engineer. The practical, strong-minded landgrave had long foreseen the necessity of organised, active resistance, and had laboured to bring about a working compromise between Luther and Zwingli in order to unite the Protestant forces against the common foe. Such a compromise as he tried to

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achieve by the Colloquy of Marburg between the two great reformers was essential, for the South German cities followed Zwingli, and division in the Protestant camp, in the face of a formidable enemy, was equivalent to the ruin of the Protestant cause. Luther wrecked the landgrave's policy by his dogged refusal to recognise Zwingli and his followers as brethren and allies, because of a difference in the exegesis of a single text of Scripture! Nor would he move an inch from his dogma of passive obedience in response to the landgrave's practical appeal to his co-religionists to league themselves together and prepare to meet force with force. In his eyes Philip was a restless, revolutionary spirit, a second Franz von Sickingen or Von Hutten, whose readiness to draw the sword in defence of his faith must bring ruin on the Reformation cause. Once more in face of a situation which called for common-sense rather than pious exhortation, Luther appears as the opinionated theologian who, though he knew his Bible, did not know the world. Faith is the only factor that he will recognise as the arms of a Christian. God, not man, must save the Reformation, and his insistence on this maxim was as emphatic to the elector or the landgrave as to the oppressed peasants. There is a dogged consistency in this insistence which is not without a certain heroism, though Luther was ere long to confess himself "a child" in these matters and to go over, for the time being at least, to the landgrave's more manly view, in spite of himself. "Our Lord Jesus," wrote he to the elector, 22nd May 1529, "who hitherto has marvellously helped us . . . will assuredly help and counsel us further." There must be no organised resistance to the emperor, he warns him on the 18th November 1529. "Every man must defend his own faith, must believe or not believe at his own risk, if it comes so far that our overlord, the emperor, attacks us." He recoils at the prospect of a bloody religious strife. God forbid that the gospel should be a cause of bloodshed and ruin. Christians must rather give themselves as sheep to the slaughter, and may not avenge themselves, but give place to the wrath of God. In his view the emperor only required to be rightly informed as to the situation to do justice as between the two parties, and, even if he gives his verdict for repression and persecution, he must not be resisted. "It agrees not with the

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Scripture," wrote he once more on the 6th March 1630, in answer to the elector's question, whether the princes might take arms against the emperor in defence of the faith, "that any Christian rebel against his overlord, whether he do right or wrong. The Christian must suffer violence and wrong, especially from his supreme lord. For although the emperor should do injustice and act contrary to his duty and his oath, his authority and the obedience of his subjects are not thereby nullified as long as the empire and the electors recognise him as emperor and do not depose him." The right of resistance on such grounds to a reigning prince once granted, any individual might claim the right to refuse obedience to established authority, whether imperial or princely, and all government would be at an end. He admits, indeed, that the representatives of the empire may depose the emperor on sufficient grounds, but as long as he occupies the imperial throne, even if he were a heathen, rebellion is inadmissible. And what holds of the emperor holds of the princes. Give to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, honour the king, is for Luther an all-sufficient answer to the contrary. To the contention that it is lawful to repel force with force he only replies that no man shall be judge in his own cause. The princes are not, indeed, bound to proscribe their subjects at the imperial command. They are bound in such a case to obey God rather than man. But they shall not resist the persecutor; they shall allow him to rage at will, while not approving, assisting his action. They shall trust in God, who is faithful and will find the means to protect His own. The devil would indeed fain deluge the whole land with blood for the sake of religion, but God will preserve us from the devil's wiles.

The crushing conclusion of the theological debate at Augsburg disillusioned even Luther. Within six months the Protestants must renounce their creed, or submit to be treated as heretics and outlaws. In prospect of such a contingency Luther's warrior spirit got the better of his naïve faith in God. Once more he is engaged in mortal combat with Antichrist, and even if Antichrist wears the crown of the Holy Roman Empire he shall be defied. "If war must come," wrote he to Justin Jonas on the 20th September, "so let it come. We have prayed and worked long enough." This

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warrior spirit burst out, too, in "The Warning to his dear Germans against the Recess of Augsburg" (1531). In this lengthy effusion he irrefragably assumes that, despite the condemnation of the majority of Augsburg, his religious views are absolutely right, and the views of his opponents are mere devil's falsities. He is very dogmatic as usual, but he also shows a noble hatred of the resort to violence in order to settle religious questions. To him the prospect of a religious war is a terrible prospect, and he bitterly reproaches the pope and the papists with the bloody violence which pope and priest have instigated throughout the ages for the purpose of enslaving the world to their false tyranny. Thus far he has counselled peace, but if the papists will have war and violence, so let it be. Let the worst come, as God will decide. The responsibility lies with them, not with him. He will not yield a hairbreadth before all the might of the emperor, even if it were backed by all the might of Sultan Soliman himself. These blind and bloodthirsty papists will, he is certain, come off second best in the struggle. God can raise up another Moses, another David, another Judas Maccabæus, another Ziska, to teach the people how to win victories for His cause. In that case he will not, as formerly, raise his voice to prevent their castigation. Let the papists take all that they will get They will only richly deserve their fate. Resistance to such oppression is no rebellion. To resist force with force in such circumstances is now for Luther both a right and a duty, though he would not incite any one to begin the struggle. The papists decry every one as a rebel who will not submit to their dictation. He is the real rebel who takes the law into his own hands and oppresses others, as the papist bloodhounds now propose to do towards the Protestants. In this respect they are on the same footing as Thomas Münzer.

If the emperor will lend himself as the tool of these bloodhounds, he simply forfeits his right to obedience, and no God-fearing man ought to obey him. "In such a case no man ought to obey the emperor, but should know that such obedience is absolutely forbidden by God, and that he who obeys is disobedient to God, and endangers his body and soul to all eternity. For the emperor acts in this case, not only against God and the divine law but against his own imperial

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rights, oath, duty, seal, and edicts." He does not think ill of the emperor. He is, he believes, the victim of a set of papist scoundrels, especially of that supreme scoundrel, the pope. "If they will have it so," he concludes grimly, "their blood be on their own heads. I am guiltless. I have done my part."

This angry note of defiance is the note of the revolutionary Luther of the first years of the struggle against Antichrist. For God and conscience men may fight as well as suffer. It was the only doctrine that could save the Reformation, as history was yet to demonstrate in every land where conscience and convention clashed. In the present instance, the Saxon jurists came forward with a working theory, whereby resistance to emperor and Diet was shown to be no rebellion, but the vindication of constitutional rights. The Saxon jurists did not base the opposition to established authority on the rights of conscience. They appealed to constitutional law in order to save appearances, and afford a valve for susceptible consciences like those of Luther and the elector. The appeal might be disputable, and it would have been more to the point to invoke the demands of conscience rather than the questionable witness of the imperial constitution. The emperor, contended the Saxon jurists, is not the sovereign head of the empire. His power is limited by that of the princes and the cities, as that of the Roman consul was limited by the Senate, or that of the Doge of Venice is limited by the Great Council. Formally, the Saxon interpretation of the constitution was incorrect. The emperor was something more than a Venetian Doge or a Roman consul. Practically, it expressed the actual state of things. The Imperial Government, or Reichs-regiment, was a mere cipher as against the territorial magnates. Even the Diet, while it exercised some of the functions, did not in reality possess the power of a Parliament. It might enact, but with a weak central government its enactments had just as much or as little binding force as the more powerful members of the empire chose to ascribe to them. Practically, therefore, if not formally, the contention which now did duty for constitutional law was not far beyond the mark, and the Lutheran Reformation, in developing the doctrine of the rights of the princes, at the expense of the emperor, was only following the law of political development in Germany. The

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doctrine might be fatal to a strong national State; incompatible with Charles' idea of transforming the empire into an hereditary monarchy. It was, at any rate, the only doctrine that squared with fact. Lutheranism was not responsible for its origin. Long before Luther appeared to defy pope, emperor, and Diet alike in the name of conscience, the princes had become territorial sovereigns. The old ecclesiastical constitution had been as favourable to the territorial tendency as the new; nay, it had proved as advantageous to the pope of Rome as to the pope of Wittenberg. Protestantism only took advantage of it to save itself from destruction. The Protestant princes were not elaborating a new doctrine; they were in reality taking advantage of an old one. That they had material as well as religious reasons for so doing is palpable enough, for Lutheranism undoubtedly tended to exalt their status as territorial sovereigns, as rulers by God's grace, and secularisation augmented their material resources. At the same time, it is only fair to remember that religious as well as secular considerations inspired the action of men like the Elector John, and his successor John Frederick, and the Landgrave Philip. The Saxon electors were assuredly no hypocrites, no mere political gamblers, and Landgrave Philip, though by no means an exemplary Christian in some of his actions, was certainly a Protestant by conviction. And the League of Schmalkald which united them (December 1530-February 1531) for six years in defence of their faith, and to which the Dukes of Brunswick-Lüneburg and Grubenhagen, Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt, the Counts of Mansfeld, and eleven cities, including Constance, Ulm, Strassburg, Bremen, and Magdeburg, adhered, was entirely defensible in principle and purpose. It was defensive, not offensive. It was "not directed against the emperor, or any one else." But it asserted distinctly that the members of the league would mutually defend themselves against aggression on account of their religion, or even on any other pretext, by whomsoever made. It was a declaration to the emperor and the majority that might is not right in matters of belief, and that combination and resistance to the oppression of conscience, by even an emperor and a majority in the name of law, is a Christian duty.

Luther, indeed, in a letter to a citizen of Nürnberg (18th

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March 1531) still held to his conviction that the Christian must not resist the powers that be. But, on the ground of the decision of the jurists, he makes a distinction between the Christian and the citizen, the member of the body of Christ and the body politic. As a citizen he agrees with the jurists that resistance is admissible, and, though he will not himself as a theologian advise any Christian to resist, he leaves it to his conscience to decide how he shall act. He even went the length, under stress of necessity, of agreeing to a working accommodation with Bucer and the South German cities for the purpose of presenting an united front to the enemy.

The principle of the League of Schmalkald is admirable, though we cannot but regret that both princes and theologians had outraged it so heinously but six years before in the case of the unfortunate peasants, who had with equal force appealed to right against might in the cause of freedom from social as well as religious oppression. It was, too, remarkably effective. The league was in itself by no means formidable from the point of view of numbers. But it represented a great moral force—the force of conscience—and the force of conscience had already shown what it could effect in the person of Luther himself, whom neither pope, nor emperor, nor diet had been able to crush. And it could reckon on the powerful support of Charles' enemies, Francis and Henry, with whom it was not loth to enter into negotiation. Protestantism indeed became a force in European politics, and its power as a political factor was to work startling results before the century was at an end. The league became, in fact, a political as well as a religious association. It was anti-imperial as well as anti-Catholic. Its members, more especially Landgrave Philip, had political equally with religious ends to serve. It even found adherents; from motives of policy, in the Catholic party itself, and Zapolya, Ferdinand's rival in Hungary. It could, too, reckon on the indirect assistance of the sultan, with whom the impulsive landgrave, if not his co-religionists, was ready to co-operate. In the spring of 1531 the redoubtable Soliman was again on the war-path, and both Ferdinand as King of Hungary, and Charles as emperor, were fain to waive the crusade against Protestantism for the crusade against the infidel. The result was

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another accommodation—this time at Nürnberg (Religious Peace of Nürnberg, July 1532), by which religious peace was to be observed till the convention of a General Council, or, in case of this proving impossible, another Diet, and the emperor undertook to suspend the processes on the ground of religion before the Imperial Chamber.

This Nürnberg treaty was, as events subsequently showed, a substantial victory for the Protestants, a decisive defeat for the emperor and the Catholic majority. The General Council, which Pope Clement feared more than Protestantism itself, and which was to meet within a year, proved a mere pious wish, and for nearly fifteen years the Protestants were left free, not only to enjoy this enforced religious liberty but to win adherents for their creed. The landgrave forcibly restored the Protestant Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg to his duchy, which Ferdinand had obtained and miserably misgoverned, and compelled the Imperial Chamber to resile from all proceedings against the members of the league, more particularly in regard to secularisations (Peace of Cadan, June 1534). Despite the limitation of the Nürnberg Peace, all who signed the Augsburg Confession were welcome to join its ranks. Electoral Brandenburg and ducal Saxony went over to Luther shortly after the accession of the shrewd and self-aggrandising Elector Joachim II. and Duke Henry respectively. The whole of Anhalt and of Pomerania—both hitherto, like Saxony and Brandenburg, divided in allegiance to Catholic and Protestant princes—became Protestant. Mecklenburg-Schwerin was another recruit; Duke William of Cleves still another. Even Hermann von Wied, archbishop-elector of Cologne, ultimately turned Lutheran, and Charles was alarmed lest his fellow-electors of Trier and Maintz should follow his example, and ally themselves with the Schmalkald League and with Bavaria in the interest of their own aggrandisement and German national freedom against the Habsburg. Another elector, he of the Palatinate, was but a doubtful Catholic. The whole of Scandinavia and the greater part of North and South Germany stood for Luther and the Wittenberg Concord of 1536 had minimised the difference between Lutheran and Zwinglian. Even in Austria and Bavaria the movement made some progress, in spite of

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the opposition of their rulers. Charles could only look on, and impotently close his eyes to the Protestant propaganda. The war with Soliman, the expedition against Soliman's ally, the North African pirate Barbarossa, the renewal of the conflict with Francis, in 1536, in alliance with the sultan, forced him not only to leave Protestantism to its destiny, but to court the goodwill of its princely protectors. A lull in the war tempest, as in 1538, when he struck an alliance with the pope and Francis for, among other purposes, the suppression of heresy, and the Catholic princes leagued themselves at Nürnberg to stem the Protestant tide, might seem to bring the opportunity of forcible intervention. But, as often before, the opportunity vanished before the grim spectre of political necessity, which, with the persistency of fate, only disappeared in one quarter of the political horizon to start into view in another. Abortive attempts at Hagenau and Worms in 1540, and at Ratisbon in 1541, to bring about a Catholic-Protestant union, only forced him to make further concessions to the Protestants. With a host of political enemies to face in Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western Europe, he had no more control over parties in Germany than if he had been but King of Spain, and not the successor of Charlemagne. The landgrave's bigamist aberration, which threw such obloquy on Luther, Bucer, and Melancthon, and threatened the disruption of the league by leading Philip to sue for the imperial favour, promised to play into his hands. But the outbreak in 1542, for the fourth time, of the struggle with Francis, in alliance not only with Soliman but with Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Guelders, Cleves, and the pope, wrung from him new concessions to the Protestants as the price of their refusal of Francis' counter-offers. It was only in virtue of their neutrality or their co-operation, and the alliance of Henry of England, that Francis was made to feel a second time the weight of the imperial vengeance in the shape of a formidable invasion, and compelled to accept the terms of the invader at Crépy (September 1544). An accommodation with Soliman followed a year later.

Charles had ample reason to be grateful to the German Protestants, who, as in 1532, had saved him from a critical situation. In spite of the cogency of his indebtedness, he had

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no intention of keeping faith with heretics. Both on political and religious grounds he was a firm believer in the unity of the Church. Schism in the Church was, he believed, the source of division in the empire. It was incompatible with his imperial power and his dynastic ambition. It had indeed given a powerful impulse to the growth of the territorial power of the princes at the imperial expense. In self-defence the reformers had sought the alliance of the princes, and their alliance had reduced Charles to a nullity. It was a possible contingency that the next emperor might be not merely not a Habsburg, but a Protestant. From his point of view, therefore, the suppression of Protestantism was a necessity. He was, moreover, an orthodox if to some extent a reforming Churchman, and with a Reformation that had disrupted the Church he had no sympathy. He had cruelly persecuted héretics in the Netherlands and Spain, and he would have suppressed them in Germany in 1521 and 1531 if he had been free to do so. The treaties with the Protestants had been but the makeshifts of policy; and now that Francis and Henry, whom he had left in the lurch at Crépy, were wasting their strength in continued war for his benefit, and the sultan was peaceably inclined, the Protestants should at last feel the force of his arm if they refused to accept his terms. The General Council or the sword should put an end to the politico-religious question and establish both the imperial supremacy and the unity of the Church in the empire.

In deference to his insistence Paul III. at last summoned the Council to meet at Trent. It proved absolutely unworkable as an instrument of accommodation. It was orthodox and papal, and the Protestants would have nothing to do with it, and insisted on the convention of a free National Council. Unfortunately for them, their strength was at this critical juncture seriously impaired by personal motives and interests. The league was, in fact, practically impotent. Like every German combination, it made shipwreck on the rock of particularism, and Philip of Hesse laboured in vain to frustrate the statecraft of the astute Charles by the reanimation of the co-operative spirit. Charles' statecraft, now that he was free to grapple with the situation, had, in truth, a comparatively easy task in dividing the Protestants and uniting the Catholic

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princes for the realisation of his policy. He won over the Brunswick dukes, the elector and the Margrave of Brandenburg, and, most potent of all, Duke Maurice of Saxony, whom he bribed with the offer of his cousin's electoral dignity and territories. He disarmed the apprehensions of John Frederick by his pacific professions. He detached the Duke of Bavaria, who had from political motives supported the league, from his old confederates. He could appeal, too, to what was left of national spirit to support the crusade against those who, in repudiating the authority of the Imperial Government and a General Council as well as that of the pope, were reducing the empire to anarchy. The emperor stood for constituted authority; his opponents, he urged, for mere rebellion. By so doing he succeeded in shifting the religious aspect of the quarrel into the background, and it was for treason rather than for heresy that he at length proclaimed John Frederick and Philip under the imperial ban on 20th July 1546, and set his army in motion against them. In reality the contest was both political and religious. Charles drew the sword, as he told his son and his sister, to vindicate the Catholic faith as well as his own authority. John Frederick and Philip were the representatives of Protestantism as well as territorial princely power.

Charles proved superior to the Protestants in military tactics as in statecraft. The Protestant army at Donauwörth was at first by far the stronger, but indecision and divided councils let slip the chance of overwhelming the emperor before reinforcements could join him from Italy and the Netherlands at Landshut and Ingolstadt (August-September 1546). This inaction gave time, too, for the development of the grand *coup* that ruined the Protestant cause—the defection of Maurice, who seized the elector's dominions, and forced him to hasten northwards to the rescue, leaving the southern cities and magnates (the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Würtemberg among them) no alternative but to submit. In this crisis the landgrave showed some of his old energy, and, though John Frederick succeeded in wresting both the electorate and the duchy from the traitor Maurice, his success was cut short by the rapid advance of the emperor northwards and the rout of the Saxon army at Mühlberg on the 24th

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April 1547. Among the prisoners was the elector himself. 'So you now recognise me as emperor," said Charles contemptuously as the captive elector made a move to kiss his hand, with the exclamation, "Mighty and Gracious Emperor." "I am nothing but a poor prisoner to-day," was the reply, "yet your imperial majesty will treat me, I trust, as a born prince." "I will treat you as you deserve," was the snappish retort. Charles was too vindictive to be magnanimous, and the elector was sentenced to death as a traitor, deprived of his territory in favour chiefly of Maurice, kept a prisoner in the camp before Wittenberg, and forced to sign the capitulation of the city which Luther had made the capital of a new religion.

The great reformer had been spared the experience of living to witness the discomfiture of his cause. Fully a year before the battle of Mühlberg was fought, he had shut his eyes for ever on the scene of his conflicts and his triumphs. Three days after the capitulation of Wittenberg, Charles entered the Castle Church and paused before his tomb. Since the Diet of Worms, when the intrepid monk had borne himself so stoutly in face of the assembled majesty of the empire, what a revolution had transformed Germany as the result of his conviction and his courage! A power that had for centuries been the law of men's minds and consciences had been shattered, and even the imperial power had trembled in the mighty upheaval. If ever the shrine of the dead could command the homage of the living, it might well be rendered here; and though Charles had no reason to love the greatest rebel of the age, whom death had removed beyond the range of his resentment, he seems to have been impressed by the mighty personality of the greatest of his antagonists. "Let him lie," he is reported to have said, in response to the barbarous suggestion of Alva and the Bishop of Arras to unearth and burn his remains—"Let him lie; he has his judge; I war with the living, not with the dead."

The surrender and imprisonment of the landgrave completed his triumph. With the exception of Magdeburg, which stoutly held out, all Germany lay at his feet. Yet he was not really much stronger for his success. The victory over Lutheranism was a victory for the Habsburg dynasty as

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well as for the Church. The princes were jealous of a power which, in overthrowing the Reformation, sought to diminish the territorial jurisdiction to which the extension of the Reformation owed so much. They refused to sanction the establishment of a league, with an organised military force, as an attempt to buttress the imperial power at their expense, though it would have tended to make the government of the empire something of a reality, and not the sham that it was and had long been. They protested against the maintenance of Spanish troops in the empire as contrary to the condition of the imperial election. Nor could Charles afford as the result of the war to stamp out Lutheranism. He could not let loose the Inquisition against the heretic in Germany as in Spain. At most he could only return to his old device—an accommodation—though this time the accommodation was decidedly in favour of Catholicism. He was even unable to make use of the General Council to this end. The pope had, in March 1547, removed the Council from Trent to Bologna in order to retain the mastery over its decisions, had refused to transfer it to Trent at Charles' demand, had in fact been praying and intriguing, for political and papal reasons, for the success of the elector against the emperor, resented his interference in matters of doctrine, and would not hear of any irenic concessions to the Protestants. Charles was therefore driven to make a compromise on his own responsibility; and this compromise, which surrendered the absolute supremacy of the pope over the Church, split the difference in regard to justification by faith, clerical marriage, and communion in both kinds, and was to hold good pending the final decision of a General Council, was dubiously accepted by the Diet at Augsburg under the name of the Interim (May 1548).

The acceptance of the Interim by the Protestants, whether voluntary or enforced, by no means solved the religious question. Melancthon played as usual a pusillanimous part; many of the Protestant theologians sought refuge in exile; Bucer and Fagius emigrated to England. But the spirit of the dead Luther was not crushed. It lived in the more resolute of his followers, and to these the Interim was a rock of offence. Charles' proposal to elect his son Philip King of the Romans, as prospective successor of Ferdinand to the imperial

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crown itself, and the continued incarceration of the elector and the landgrave, intensified princely discontent. The presence of Spanish ministers and Spanish troops brought into play the force of national antipathy. The renewed attempt to negotiate a religious union by means of the Council, which a new Pope, Julius III., recalled to Trent, failed.

Charles was undoubtedly working for his own imperial interests and for the permanence of the imperial crown in his own family. Ferdinand should succeed him as emperor of a strong empire, imperially governed. But Philip should succeed Ferdinand, and the Habsburg-Spanish power should thus continue not only to rule Germany, but dominate Europe. His imperial policy had undoubtedly advantages for Germany. The princely oligarchy was fatal to the strength of the empire, and the miserable particularism which paralysed it for two hundred years was the only alternative to Charles' scheme of a strong imperial government. It may be said, therefore, that his policy was in a sense the best for Germany in the circumstances. On the other hand, the prospect of a Philip as Emperor of Germany was, as the sequel of his rule in the Netherlands was to show, the worst possible prospect. Religious bigotry and iron despotism would have been the upshot of it, with a revolution that would have reinstated the princes in their territorial sovereignties, without bringing political salvation to the empire.

Personal, national, religious motives thus prepared the way for the stroke by which the betrayer of the Protestant cause was scheming to rehabilitate it. Maurice appears to have been a pure opportunist, who occupies perhaps the lowest place, among the Protestant champions of princely rank, as a political speculator. He had played the traitor to Protestantism in favour of Charles, because it paid him. He now played the traitor to Charles in favour of Protestantism for the same reason. To talk of principle in such a case, as his apologists do, is to waste words and overlook plain facts. With him and his co-operators among the princes, the chief impulse to revolt was anxiety to secure their territorial power from the menace of a strong emperor. They could, however, count on the co-operation of religious and national motives,

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and Maurice's diplomatic ability certainly stood the Protestant cause in good stead. And the international situation once more provided its opportunity. France and England were now at peace, and Maurice had no difficulty in securing the alliance of Henry II., though at no small cost to the integrity of the empire. The sultan was again on the war-path in the east, and Charles' relations with Northumberland were strained over the question of the refusal of his English cousin Mary to conform to Protestantism. He had his suspicions of Maurice, but his over-confidence betrayed him into a false security, and Maurice and his confederates, William of Hesse and the Margrave of Brandenburg-Culmbach, were on the march to Innsbruck and the French in Lorraine before he awoke to the gravity of the situation. Resistance was hopeless, and his first idea was to escape to the Netherlands. It was too late even to do this, and the only alternative was to hurry away, on the evening of 19th May 1552, in a litter, through darkness and storm, over the Brenner, as far as Villach. But for a mutiny in Maurice's army, the august fugitive would have been taken prisoner.

The victors stopped short of revolution. They did not depose the fugitive in virtue of their victory. They consented to negotiate, and ultimately agreed to the Peace of Passau, which assured toleration to the Lutherans, even if, at a subsequent Diet, religious unity should prove unattainable (August 1552). Three years intervened before the final settlement was reached. As the result of lengthy negotiations at the Diet of Augsburg (February to September 1555), the Lutheran princes would accept nothing less than the recognition of their right to profess the Augsburg Confession and to retain possession of the secularised ecclesiastical property that was not immediately held of the emperor. They secured the abolition of the episcopal jurisdiction within their territories and its transference to themselves. They did not succeed in carrying the demand for toleration for the adherents of Luther in Catholic States, but dissidents who refused to conform to the established religion, whether Catholic or Lutheran, were to be at liberty to remove themselves and their property elsewhere. They were compelled, too, to submit to the stipulation that if any spiritual prince became a Protestant he should forfeit his

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lands and dignities (the Ecclesiastical Reservation), and to be content with a private declaration of Ferdinand in favour of toleration for the Protestant subjects of the ecclesiastical princes, which was not incorporated in "the Recess," or formal agreement, and did not therefore become law.

From the standpoint of religious liberty, the Peace of Augsburg, which put a period to the conflict of thirty-five years, is disappointing. It was a victory for the territorial principle as applied to religion, not for toleration. The subject must profess the religion of the prince, whether Catholic or Lutheran (*cujus Regio, ejus Religio*). It made the prince the arbiter in matters of religion, the absolute lord over the consciences of his subjects. Morally, as well as politically, it strengthened enormously the territorial power of the magnates, who had in turn proved the master in the struggle with the lesser nobility, the peasants, and finally the emperor. The Reformation had thus not merely broken the unity of the Church; it had intensified the tendency towards the political disunion of the empire, and weakened German national sentiment without achieving either true political or true religious liberty. True, it had helped to frustrate Charles' dynastic absolutist schemes, but in so doing it had worked into the hands of the petty potentates, who were practically absolute within their own dominions both in Church and State, and whose ecclesiastical absolutism was to find classic expression in the work of Erastus. This Augsburg Peace, moreover, conferred rights only on Catholics and Lutherans. It had no toleration for Zwinglians and Calvinists, not to mention the lesser sectaries. Even as between Catholics and Lutherans it was only a makeshift, and, while it prevented the further extension of the Reformation, it virtually guaranteed the preservation of the great spiritual electorates and the spiritual principalities which had survived the onslaught of Lutheranism. The German Reformation had, in fact, reached its limit at the hour of its greatest triumph. It bore in it the seeds of future strife, which were to bring forth the bitter fruits of bloodshed and ruin in the terrible drama of the Thirty Years' War. The issue which it hushed up, rather than settled, was yet to be decided on the battlefield, not in the Diet.

Nevertheless, there is something to be said for it even

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from the point of view of religious liberty. We must not overlook the circumstances of the age, the necessities of the actual situation. The Lutheran Reformation would doubtless have followed the right track if it had disassociated itself far more than it did from the interests of the princes, if it had done more for social progress, less for princely despotism, if it had pursued a higher political as well as spiritual ideal. Very different would the history of Europe have been if this had been possible. To Luther it was not possible, partly owing to the exigencies of the time, partly to the peculiarity of his experience and his personality. He was a religious reformer pure and simple—the man with a mission—and this mission he found, not in the diverse arena of the world but in his cell at Erfurt. He had no wide conception of the movement he started, or of the aspirations of the age in which he lived. He eschewed social and political questions as alien to his purpose, dangerous to his mission. He was the theologian, the doctrinal reformer above all things, and as such he was absorbed in the tremendous conflict with Church and emperor, and was driven by their opposition to seek the support of what was the most powerful body in the empire. He was compelled, whether he liked it or not, to support the princes, as the price of their support of him. Would there have been any reformation at all without their alliance? The fate of Hus would seem to decide that question. And the fate of the peasants shows what a reformation in opposition to the princes had to expect. Even Luther would have been crushed had there been no elector to spirit him away to the Wartburg, and no Protestant League of Schmalkald to intervene between him and the emperor. Taking, then, the Lutheran Reformation as what it was, and not what it ought to or might have been, there is after all something to be said for it from the point of view of liberty, despite the poor result achieved for liberty at Augsburg. It was a mighty disruption of the mediæval Church. It gave a tremendous shock to the ecclesiastical despotism that had lorded it for a thousand years over the minds and consciences of men. It asserted the rights of the individual soul against the pretensions of a most frightful tyranny, an ecclesiastical despotism impersonated in a semi-divine dictator,

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with a hierarchic bureaucracy, which enveloped the nations, at his command. To those who set a higher value on the unity of the Church, even in this despotic form, than on the free development of the human soul, the transaction at Augsburg appears as an unmixed evil. To those who see in an ecclesiastical unity, thus conceived and exemplified, the death of true spiritual, intellectual, political freedom, it was at least a step in the direction of progress. The fact that Luther had won his cause against all the forces of mediæval tradition and authority, and that his opponents were compelled to own it at Augsburg, is a fact to be thankful for. The prince might take the place of the pope, but there was at least the possibility of escaping persecution by removing from the jurisdiction of one prince to that of another, instead of being haled to the stake for one's religious belief. This might not be toleration in the modern sense of the word, but it was an advance upon the mediæval alternative of death or absolute submission. The alternative could now be evaded by at least Luther's followers, and the fact is a sign of progress. Still better, it was the beginning of further progress, though in Germany the free development of mind, the vindication of conscience, was trammelled by a long period of fierce strife, stagnant dogmatism.

From the point of view of freedom of thought, the Lutheran Reformation may easily be weighed in the balance and found wanting. It is to be regretted that its spirit was inclined to be so exclusively dogmatic, so hostile to rational views, so little inspired by a tolerant charity. It may indeed be described as a crusade in favour of liberty, but only as the age understood liberty. This, it may be said, was in the natural order of things. Luther and his fellow-reformers, who only saw with the light of the sixteenth century, could not be expected to see with that of the twentieth. True, but we should all the more guard against applying the word liberty to the Lutheran Reformation as if it meant what we to-day understand by it. This is a mistake into which many Protestant writers, who confuse the principle with the practice of the Reformation, have fallen. We may grant, too, that Luther was not really free to go all the length of his principle. He not merely attacked a dominant order of things; he had

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to defend himself against attack, and in so doing he had to choose his position and take his stand on it. In demolishing the old Church he had to construct a new one, and construction involved the declaration of certain doctrines and a definite organisation. To refrain from constructing, organising, to practise an indefinite syncretism that would please all opinions, to be good-natured and undecided in the presence of opposition, would have been to defeat his own cause. Only a man of strong conviction, of indomitable will, of overmastering self-confidence, could have done the work that Luther did. The reformer must be a fighting man, and a fighting man must hit hard in a conflict in which the only alternative was death or victory. In this respect there could be no halting between two opinions. Reformers could scarcely afford to play the philosopher and consider toleration on its own merits. They were forced to defend their position against both Catholics and Protestant dissenters. If they were to hold their ground, there was no escape from the necessity of formulating confessions of their faith like the Augsburg Confession, in order both that they might distinguish between friend and foe and marshal their followers under the banner of what they held to be the truth. Truth at such a crisis of the world's history must be "confessed" in articles of belief, and if these articles are not held with all the force of soul and conscience, discomfiture, not victory, must be the result. It is useless to ignore the exigencies of the situation and demand of Luther and his fellow-reformers a profession of faith that might suit the twentieth century, but would certainly not have met the requirements of the sixteenth. Our complaint against Luther and his fellow-reformers is not that they formulated confessions of faith, but that in doing so they made them needlessly and unreasonably personal. They might have fought the battle of the Reformation against the powers of repression without fighting so bitterly against one another, whenever opinions over the interpretation of a text or an historical question clashed. They should at least have better understood the bearing of their own root principle and discounted their own fallibility in attacking the infallibility of Pope and Church. They were most of them men of strong personality, and they

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allowed their personality to stamp itself too deeply on the movement, their personal prejudices and predilections to count for too much in the shaping of it. Lutheran, Calvinist, Zwinglian, rather than Christian, became the watchword of hostile sectaries, and it was deadly sin to go beyond what a Luther, or a Zwingli, or a Calvin had laid down as truth. Despite the intensity of the age, a more reasonable liberty might have been allowed in regard to many contentious questions which divided the Protestants, without the slightest harm—nay, with the greatest benefit to the Reformation.

Luther, for instance, took up a far too pugnative attitude towards the humanists, who, while sympathising with reform, were estranged by his ultra-dogmatic tone in such questions as predestination and the bondage of the will. He roused the antagonism of men like Erasmus, who would have infused a more moderate tone into the discussion of such abstruse doctrines. Melancthon, indeed, showed a more irenic tendency in controversy with the more reasonable of his Catholic opponents, but Melancthon even outdid Luther in his intolerance towards Protestant dissidents, and, while reserving his charity for papist theologians, nearly wrecked the Reformation more than once by his timidity in compromise. Again, in regard to the question of the relation of faith and reason, Luther's language at times was that of the purest obscurantist, and even the most consuming zeal for the Reformation did not require him to insult the intelligence of mankind by indulging in the grossest abuse of human reason. True, he is not blind to the fact that man's high place in the creation is due to the fact of his rationality; but the moment reason and faith come into collision, then for him reason is "God's bitterest enemy," and calls forth a variety of expletives too gross for repetition. The true culture of the mind could never thrive in such a murky mediæval atmosphere. Again, the literalism of some of his views of cardinal doctrines made accommodation with men of more enlightened outlook, like Zwingli, impossible, and the impression produced by his refusal to acknowledge him and other reformers as brethren, because of impossibility of agreement as to the interpretation of a single text, is that of sheer perversity and obstinacy. How much would the Reformation have gained if, in this

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single instance of controversy, he had admitted the possibility of a rational interpretation. Luther can hardly be described as the slave of his own theory of the supreme authority of the Scriptures. He could discriminate between the merits of the various portions of the Bible, and even the degree of credibility assignable to them. He uses his learning and his common-sense frequently enough in criticism of them. But whenever his personal bias or the question of his own authority came into play, he was adamantine in resisting opposition or compromise, and would turn on his opponents or his own reason with the fiercest of his grim epithets as a decisive answer to all objections.

And what is more particularly true of the attitude of Luther is true of that of all the merely doctrinal reformers towards those who carried subjectivity the length of differing from or ignoring not only the old confessions, but the new. To Luther and the doctrinal reformers a man like Sebastian Franck, who laid stress on the spirit, not on the letter, of the Scriptures, who knew of no other Church than that of the community of believers, and decried all formal ecclesiastical organisation, was an unspeakable anarchist. The life of a Franck was accordingly that of an Ishmael in religion, who was driven from place to place by the persecutor till he at last found repose in a premature death at Basel in 1543, and who, in spite of persecution, continued to write and print and vie with Luther as a master of popular prose in the exposition of his spiritualistic opinions. Schwenkfeld, who resembled him in his checkered life and his revolt against doctrinal Protestantism, was for Luther merely "that fool possessed by the devil."

There is, unfortunately, a sad inconsistency between the earlier and the later Luther in regard to the treatment of heretics and heresy. In his earlier fighting period he was the champion of a large meed of toleration. "Belief is a free thing which cannot be enforced." "If heretics were to be punished by death, the hangman would be the most orthodox theologian." "Heresy is a spiritual thing which no iron can hew down, no fire burn, no water drown." "To burn heretics is contrary to the will of the Holy Spirit." "False teachers should not be put to death; it is enough to banish them."

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He unhappily belied this noble profession by his later utterances, and about 1540-41 signed the judgment of the Wittenberg theologians in favour of the execution of Anabaptists, adding that, although it seemed cruel to punish them with the sword for their beliefs, it was more cruel to permit them to damn the ministry of the Word and suppress right teaching with impunity. The efficacy of such a dictum is only too sadly endorsed by the fact that up to 1530 about two thousand of these sectaries had been put to death in the various German States. During the next decade Anabaptism discredited itself by the excesses of Münster, but Münster did not truly represent the opinions or morals of the large body of dissenters to whom this name was applied. Bucer had the charity and the sagacity to discern between the tares and the wheat in the Anabaptist field, and Bucer, Blarer, and Philip of Hesse deserve the credit of seeking to win them to the orthodox Protestant Church by means of persuasion and instruction. Melancthon and Luther were far less discriminating, and only too ready to exemplify at the expense of such sectaries the persecuting principles which the Catholics would fain have exemplified at theirs. The death penalty alone could avenge such doctrinal aberrations, and the death penalty was carried out against some of them by the elector in deference to Melancthon's dictum that "it is necessary to enforce the most rigorous penalties against the obstinate, and although some few may not be malicious folk, the pernicious sect must be suppressed." Against Anti-Trinitarians, like Campanus, and, later, Socinus, the theological rabies was equally violent.

Dogmatic intolerance increased rather than abated after the Religious Peace of Augsburg. The compression of liberty begun by the reformers begat a tendency to contention and bigotry, which lamed the vitality of Lutheranism and prepared the way for an inevitable rationalist reaction. The principle that Scripture is the test of doctrine might be good as against the absolutist dicta of pope and hierarchy. But the tendency to subordinate reason to Scripture led equally to a mechanical dogmatism. The tyranny of the mediæval system returned in the scholastic Protestant theology. The feud between Lutheran and Calvinist raged onward with increasing bitter-

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ness, and every attempt to moderate it, on the part of the Calvinist theologians, supported by the Lutheran Calixtus, made shipwreck on Lutheran intolerance and arrogance. Theology became more and more a mechanical science. The Scriptures were used merely to prove the confession, and the confession practically superseded the Scriptures. Not only was freedom of thought shackled; the spirit and power of the Bible itself were held in bondage by the arrogant exponents of confessional theology.

SOURCES.—Luther's Briefe, edited by De Wette, particularly vols. iii. to v. (1827-28), with Supplement by Seidemann (1856); Die Reformatorischen Schriften Luthers, edited by Zimmermann (1846-49), especially the Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen (1531); Bezold, Geschichte der Deutschen Reformation (1890); Janssen, History of the German People, vols. v. and vi. of the English translation (1903). These two authors represent the Protestant and Catholic points of view respectively. Moeller, History of the Christian Church, vol. iii., edited by Kawerau, English translation by Freese (1900); Schaff, History of the Church —the German Reformation (1888); Pollard, Chapters on the German Reformation, in vol. ii. of Cambridge Modern History; Stubbs, Lectures on European History, edited by Hassall (1904); Beard, The Reformation (1883); Armstrong, Charles V. (1902); Richard, Melancthon (1898).

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CHAPTER VI.

ZWINGLI AND CALVIN.

SWITZERLAND may dispute with Germany the honour of being the native land of the Reformation. Ulrich Zwingli was a reformer as early as Martin Luther—was, in fact, attacking indulgences and other abuses from his pulpit at Einsiedeln in Schwyz at the same time that Luther was attacking them from his pulpit at Wittenberg in Saxony. He proclaimed his independence of Luther at a time when all the world was ringing with the name of the intrepid Saxon monk, and disclaimed the name of Lutheran. He admired Luther, but he was not his disciple, and differed from him in character, experience, and, in some essential respects, in doctrine. He became a reformer by the independent study of the Bible, and if he owned a master, it was not Luther, but Thomas Wyttenbach, his professor of theology at Basel University, who, he tells us, taught him to eschew indulgences, and "seek the remission of sins in the death of Christ alone and open the door to it by the key of faith." Erasmus, too, whose books, he further tells us, he read every night before going to bed, exercised a marked influence on the enthusiastic young humanist, who combined the study of the New Testament in the original Greek with that of the ancient authors. Unlike Luther, Zwingli was a Liberal in thought and creed before he became the declared antagonist of the Roman Church. He claimed intellectual and spiritual kinship with the great writers and thinkers of antiquity as well as with the prophets and apostles. The Spirit of God, he believed, spoke through them to the ancient world, and he felt the true humanist's delight in their writings. He is, in some respects, the finest spirit among the reformers. He did not, like Luther, narrow into the rigid theologian, but took an intelligent interest in the social and political welfare of his countrymen. His intoler-

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ance towards radical sectaries like the Anabaptists, not to speak, of course, of the adherents of the old creed, is regrettable, and in this respect he was no more enlightened than his age. Like that of Luther, it may be palliated by the fact that the Reformation which he championed could ill afford to tolerate views in advance of the age, and that some of the sectaries were given to visionary excesses which tended to wreck the reformed cause. Nevertheless, the drowning of Anabaptists, of which he approved, was an outrage on humanity, not to speak of Christianity, even if Anabaptism was regarded and punished as a crime against the State, in defence of the law of the land. It does not make persecution of this kind less revolting, whether the heretic is drowned, "dipped," as was ironically said, by a republican government or a Catholic Duke of Bavaria.

Otherwise, Zwingli was far more rational in thought and doctrine than Luther; and while his rationalism might offend the Wittenberg theologian, who could not bear his toleration of Socrates and his non-mystical views of the Sacrament, it marks him as a man of exceptional mental balance in a period of warring passions and opinions. It is a beautiful spectacle that of his holding out at Marburg, in spite of doctrinal difference, the right hand of fellowship, which Luther in his dogmatic arrogance would not grasp. His was a right human soul, swayed by noble enthusiasms, responsive, like that of his Marburg antagonist, to the sweetening influence of music and song, altogether liberal in thought, though, like most Swiss clerics of his day, rather lax in his morals in his earlier career. He was the disciple of Socrates and Plato as well as Paul, and had a place in heaven for every good man, pagan, or Christian.

Thus he was led by a far more liberalising train of thought to the reforming *rôle*, which he began to fill in earnest as preacher in the great minster at Zürich, after he had left Einsiedeln at the end of 1518. It was at Zürich that he toiled for thirteen years till his untimely death in 1531. It was from Zürich that the reform impulse spread into the neighbouring cantons of Bern, Basel, Glarus, St Gall, Schaffhausen, and eastwards into the Grisons. During the decade which spans the aggressive reforming activity of Zwingli and his henchmen Oecolampadius, Bullinger, Haller, the greater part of western

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and a considerable part of eastern Switzerland was won to the new creed.

The Swiss Reformation as directed from Zürich was, however, the work of the Government rather than the people, except in those districts where a democratic constitution gave scope to the popular will. The Swiss Confederation could not be called a democracy, though it owed its existence to popular uprisings against the Habsburg or other feudal magnates. It was a "Staatenbund," not a "Bundesstaat"—a number of small states or cantons, with a Diet which represented the cantons, not the people, and decided all questions by a vote of the majority of these cantons, not a majority of popular representatives. Nevertheless, within each canton, which was independent in its internal affairs, the Government was republican in form, and in some of them it was essentially democratic. In the Grisons, for example, as the old proverb has it, "the poorest inhabitant, next to God and the sun, is the chief magistrate." The government, whether aristocratic or democratic, heard the disputants, *pro* and *contra*, and decided after such public disputation to decree or forbid the reformed creed and worship. In the republic, as in the monarchy, religion was as yet an affair of State, and not a matter of individual conviction. Hence the prominence of the lay element in the government of the Church, as established at republican Zürich. The synod of the canton was composed, not merely of the ministers but of two lay representatives of every parish, and of four members of each of the Greater and Lesser Councils. The ecclesiastical element was subordinate to the congregational; the laity, official and non-official, had a predominant voice in ecclesiastical government and discipline, and in this respect the republican differs widely from the Lutheran and Romanist Church polity.

It is not surprising that these men of the Alps should have thrown off the yoke of the old Church. They had given proof of the resolute spirit of resistance to authority in many a bloody encounter with their hereditary foe of the house of Habsburg. The spirit of independence lived in those wild fortresses of Nature, and needed only the occasion to display itself. In the preceding century it had put an effective check to the aggressive designs of Louis XI. and Charles of Bur-

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gundy. But a few years before Zwingli's advent it had finally decreed the separation of the Confederation from the empire, and it now, in a majority of cantons at least, spurned allegiance to a degenerate Church. At this critical emergency the clergy had lost their influence by their dissolute lives, and here, as in Germany, there was a Tetzel, in the person of Samson, the papal vendor of indulgences, to stir the popular resistance. Among such a people the denunciation of Roman slavery was not likely to fall on deaf ears, though, strangely enough, the Forest Cantons, which had led the van of resistance to the Habsburg oppressor, clung to the traditional Church.

Switzerland had given an object lesson to Europe in the vindication of political independence, which Europe had learned to respect, if not to imitate. Swiss heroism had thrown a halo over this mountain land of herdsmen and husbandmen, and it was not without cause that Machiavelli held up the little Alpine Confederation as a rebuke to the degenerate republics of his own land. Their alliance was coveted by every ambitious potentate who wished to share in the spoil of Italy; and their co-operation, before the battle of Marignano, augured certain success to the side that was fortunate enough to secure it. The policy of espousing the quarrels of their ambitious neighbours in return for French, Spanish, or German gold was, however, as Zwingli testifies, a demoralising one; and it is characteristic of the public spirit of the republican reformer that he strove to check this nefarious practice. In this respect he stands far apart from Luther, who eschewed what we regard as public spirit as outside the sphere of the religious reformer. In Zwingli, on the other hand, the citizen was not lost in the reformer. Luther might leave politics to his elector, concern himself exclusively with his duty as a religious teacher, or only interfere to exhort the people to submission to the powers that be. In a republican canton like Zürich the citizen had his political responsibilities, and Zwingli, wisely or unwisely, identified the reform movement with the political policy which he considered indispensable for the good of the State. It is usual to decry his action in view of its melancholy result at Cappel. It was at least manly and patriotic, and indicates a conception of public duty from which the political self-

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effacement of Luther, in the presence of the princes, shrank. Zwingli took an intense interest in the social welfare of his countrymen, and felt and acted like a patriot in regard to their international relations; Luther thought only of the salvation of the souls of his. He was in this respect altogether a more forcible type of Christian, and exemplified in a degree that Luther, by principle and character, was not fitted to do, the self-assertion of the individual in the affairs of his country. The individual Christian, according to Luther, has nothing to do with politics, but must, machine-like, obey the powers that be. The individual Christian has, according to Zwingli, the right and the duty to concern himself with the welfare of his country. In the one case we have the representative of political quietism, which involves political stagnation; in the other the representative of republican self-assertion, which means political progress. Luther is the *protégé* of the absolute prince; Zwingli the champion of the popular spirit, and in this respect he was, unlike Luther, the apostle of the future. To his own age, however, he seemed a total failure. He went the length of drawing the sword in defence of the Reformation and in vindication of the anti-French policy. The bronze statue in front of the Wasserkirche at Zürich characteristically represents him with the sword in one hand, the Bible in the other. When it came to the question of putting down the opposition of the Forest Cantons to the new creed, he was all for prompt and forcible action. "Let us be firm and fear not to take up arms. . . . We thirst for no man's blood, but we will cut the nerves of the (Catholic) oligarchy. If we shun war, the truth of the gospel and the ministers' lives will never be secure among us." The war which he thus urged can hardly be called a war of aggression from the Protestant side. Zwingli desired toleration for Protestantism in the Catholic cantons, and the First Peace of Cappel recognised the principle of mutual toleration. It was a principle worth fighting for in the last resort, but it proved impracticable on both sides; and in the second war, which was the result of renewed friction, Zwingli met a hero's death while ministering to his dying countrymen on the fatal field.

The cause of the Reformation, though checked in German Switzerland, did not perish with him under the pear tree at

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Cappel on that fatal 11th October 1531. Five years later Calvin appeared at Geneva, and in Calvin the work begun by Zwingli found a most powerful continuator. Through Calvin this nation of heroes, who had dealt such terrible blows to political oppression, sent forth over Western Europe the impulse of revolt against tradition, with startling results, political as well as religious. Geneva became the Protestant Rome, and wielded a moral and, indirectly, a political influence over the western nations which can only be compared to that of the papacy in its palmiest days.

The citizens of Geneva were predisposed in favour of the Reformation by their struggle for political liberty against the Duke of Savoy, and their bishop, the duke's creature, Pierre de la Baume. In alliance with Bern and Freiburg, and under the leadership of Berthelier and Bonnivard, they succeeded in throwing off the yoke of both duke and bishop in 1526, and in substituting a republican constitution on the model of that of their allies. They added a Greater Council or Council of Two Hundred to the Council of Sixty, the ordinary Council of Twenty-Five, and the General Assembly of the citizens, which had hitherto performed the legislative and executive functions under the bishop. The active work of government fell, however, to the ordinary Council, which was not a popularly elected body, and tended to become an oligarchy. The government of the republic was thus not actually democratic, and the influence of Calvin did not tend to make it more popular.

The religious revolution followed the political nine years later. The unpopularity of the bishop and his adherents worked into the hands of Farel, a fugitive French Protestant preacher of the school of Lefèvre and Briçonnet, who came to Geneva in 1532, and in three years, in spite of the opposition and persecution of the clerical party, won the city for the Reformation. In the following year, 1536, Farel secured as his colleague John Calvin, like himself a fugitive French Protestant, and greatly his superior in intellectual power and learning. In the year of his arrival Calvin published his "Institution of the Christian Religion" at Basel, and it was, therefore, as the preacher of that acutely reasoned system of theology, whose keynote is the omnipotence of God and the predestination of the elect, that he undertook the task of

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organising the city of God in Geneva. The task was a very uphill one, for Calvin was an austere moralist of Hebrew type as well as a systematic theologian, and a large party among the restive, lax Genevans did not relish his puritanism. A reformation of manners as well as of doctrine was sorely needed in a city where vice was rampant, and Calvin was not content to rely on the moral effects of his teaching. Here, as at Zürich, the Government took in hand the reform of morals as well as of doctrine, and enforced a strict discipline. Moral or ecclesiastical offences were regarded as offences against the State, and were punishable by the State in its own interest as well as that of the Church.

Many of the citizens, whom the preacher stigmatised as Libertines, bitterly resented this Draconian infringement of their liberty, and in 1538 the party of reaction obtained the upper hand and drove both Calvin and Farel from the city. Calvin found a sphere as professor of theology at Strasburg. For the next three years his enemies were masters of Geneva; the old license ran riot once more; the party strife between Libertine and Calvinist threw the city into tumult and anarchy until the friends of the reformer regained the upper hand, and recalled him in 1540. From September 1541, the date of his return, till his death in 1564 Calvin maintained his hold on this citadel of militant Protestantism, in spite of persistent outbursts of opposition, until he became its virtual dictator, and through it the omnipotent director of the advanced Protestant party in Western Europe.

One of his first acts was to get a number of ordinances drawn up by a committee of preachers and laymen and ratified by the Councils for the government of the Church. As at Zürich, the lay element played an important part in the consistory or presbytery, as the ecclesiastical court was called, to which was assigned the duty of maintaining ecclesiastical discipline. As at Zürich, too, the State was the right arm of the Church in the punishment of offences against discipline. Calvinistic puritanism, thus enforced by the civil power, certainly did not err on the side of clemency or moderation. In view of the rampant degeneration of Genevese morals, it may be defended as a violent remedy applied to a desperate disease. But it was inquisitorial, harsh, tyrannical, barbarous.

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It narrowed human liberty to the measure of the Jewish formalist, and bred the Pharisee. Its Hebrew harshness is repugnant to Christian charity as well as humanity, and it is difficult to understand how men like Calvin could reconcile with the gospel of love the barbarities practised under the pretext of maintaining Christian discipline. To widen, instead of diminishing, the scope of the barbarous criminal law of the period to the extent of using torture to obtain confessions of moral delinquencies, is a strange parody of Christian philanthropy in a man who professed to teach the religion of Jesus. Under this pseudo-Christian *régime*, adultery was punished with death; fornication with banishment, imprisonment, drowning. To neglect to go to sermons (and sermons were both numerous and lengthy) was a crime. To forgo the Sacrament was punishable with a year's banishment. To contradict the doctrine of "The Institution" was to merit a heretic's death, as Gruet and Servetus found to their cost. To jest, even, was a crime, and woe to the sinner who cracked a joke at Calvin's expense. Cursing and swearing were still more criminal, and a peasant was even put on his trial for cursing his beast. To criticise a preacher was blasphemy; the preachers reserved to themselves a monopoly of strong language. To dance, to wear clothes of forbidden finery, to sing a worldly song, to break the Sabbath in any of the numerous items of its due observance, was to incur criminal punishment. The details of this petty tyranny seem to us sufficiently ridiculous; it was no ridiculous matter to live under the rod of John Calvin. During the years 1558 and 1559, for example, the number of such offences punished totalled 414, and this in a city of under 20,000 inhabitants. Socially, Calvinism was an intolerable tyranny to all who could not conscientiously submit to its doctrines and discipline. It tended to make such slaves and hypocrites, and it is to be feared that the city records do not prove that it was very efficacious against vice. Immorality was driven behind the scenes, if banished from the stage of public life. John Calvin is the mediæval monk in the guise of the Christian evangelist. Nevertheless, his puritanism tended, when it did not make men hypocrites, to nurture strong characters. It steeled the conscience, trained the generation that was to vindicate

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human rights in the name of conscience. In politics it produced the Colignys, the Williams the Silent, the Cromwells who were to fight for these rights in their own stiffnecked, puritan fashion, and to take the lead in opposition to arbitrary government. We may forgive its harshness and injustice towards the individual in consideration of its services to humanity, in the face of arbitrary power oppressively used. This stern school was a necessary training for a future mission to which humanity owes much.

Calvin, like Luther, impressed his personality very deeply on the movement of which he was the champion. To his followers, not only in Geneva but in France, Holland, South Germany, England, Scotland, his opinions and doctrines were practically identical with Christianity. His dictatorial influence is an extraordinary testimony to the moral and intellectual force of the man. It did much for the spread of the Reformation in Western Europe. It did even more than that of Luther to overthrow the tyranny of Rome over mind and conscience. It did far more for the cause of political liberty, for it identified religious with political freedom to a far greater degree, and his followers did not hesitate, when challenged to mortal combat, to champion both, sword in hand, in Scotland and the Netherlands, and later in England. But it cannot be said that it did much for liberty of thought or conscience. It showed, in fact, all the intolerance of its own intensity and combativeness, and its intolerance received a terrible commentary in the burning of Servetus for heresy at Calvin's instigation. This barbarous deed, taken along with the persecution of the Anabaptists in every Protestant land where Anabaptism disputed the dominant Protestant creed, serves to remind us that sixteenth-century Protestantism was by no means identical with liberty as we understand it. It was, of course, and had for over a thousand years been, the current dogma that heresy is a crime worthy of death, and the dogma, though anti-Christian, was as natural to a Protestant as to a Catholic. The Catholics exemplified it wholesale whenever they had the chance. Unfortunately, the Protestants did not sufficiently learn from their own bitter experience of Catholic intolerance to practise that charity which is a cardinal doctrine of Christianity, and to

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which only the rarest spirits were equal. Of this lack of charity Calvin gave the most shocking example. Though himself a "heretic," he was inflexibly intolerant of the heresy of others, and his orthodox zeal was intensified by a vindictive, irascible temper. Like most of his contemporaries, he was a good hater.

Servetus was undoubtedly a man of genius, though an ill-balanced one. He was by turns theologian, scientist, physician, geographer, astronomer. He anticipated Harvey in the discovery of the circulation of the blood. It was, however, as a heretic theologian that he acquired most notoriety, for his great discovery perished with the theological volume on the "Restitution of Christianity" in which it was demonstrated. The irrepressible, versatile, arrogant Spaniard seemed ever in a fever of speculation, and could ill restrain his disposition to accost disputatiously every theologian he met on knotty points of divinity. He was born in the same year as Calvin, *i.e.*, 1509, studied law and the Bible at Toulouse, travelled in Germany in the service of Quintana, Charles V.'s confessor, was dismissed from his post, and went to Basel, where in 1531 he published his work, "Concerning the Errors of the Trinity," and exasperated Protestant theologians like Oecolampadius, Bucer, and Bullinger by his combative spirit and heretical negations. He denounced all orthodox theologians as "tyrants of the Church," and was ostracised by them in consequence. He then turned his steps to Paris, where he threw down the gauntlet to the young Calvin. Calvin accepted the challenge, but Servetus thought better of it, and failed to keep the appointment. He eschewed theology for a time for mathematics, geography, astrology, medicine, and published an edition of Ptolemy's Geography at Lyons in 1535. From Lyons he went once more to Paris to lecture on geography and astrology in the University, and burst into notoriety as the mordant critic of the Paris doctors. His proneness to quarrel soon made the University too hot for him, and the Parliament of Paris, espousing the side of his antagonists, prohibited him in 1538 from continuing his lectures. From Paris he wandered to Charlieu, near Lyons, and finally, in 1540, established himself as a physician at Vienne, where he spent the next thirteen years.

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The spirit of contradiction broke loose once more in a pugnative correspondence with Calvin. Calvin at first treated his insistent correspondent, who plied him with embarrassing questions on insuperable points of divinity, with patience and courtesy. His patience was, however, limited at best, and his adamantine orthodoxy would stand no nonsense. He became the inveterate enemy of the insistent Spaniard, on whom his logic and his learning could make no impression, and was determined to secure his destruction. "Servetus," wrote he to Farel in February 1546, "has lately written to me, and adjoined to his letter a long volume of his delirious fancies, with the Thrasonic boast that I should see stupendous and hitherto unheard-of things. He intimates his intention of coming hither, if I am agreeable. But I am unwilling to pledge my faith for his safety. For if he comes, and my authority avails anything, I shall never suffer him to depart alive."

Poor Servetus was as the fly buzzing around the gas jet. The tone of his letters increased in bitterness and abuse, and Calvin, from personal and theological reasons, was determined to make an example of him. If it cannot be proved that he was directly responsible for his persecution by the Inquisition at Vienne in 1553, it is certain that he furnished evidence against him to the inquisitors. Servetus escaped during the trial, but was condemned to be burned as a heretic, and the effigy of him was accordingly burned along with his book, the "Restitutio." By a fatal aberration he fled to Geneva, to incur at the hands of a Protestant Inquisition, directed by Calvin, the fate that the Roman Catholic Inquisition had just missed inflicting on him. It may be granted that the presence in Geneva of such an irrepressible controversialist and heretic was a menace to Calvin's supremacy, which had opponents enough in the Libertines. Granted, too, that Servetus was by no means judicious, and adopted a defiant attitude, on the strength apparently of the support of the Libertine party. But the right course was plain. Servetus was a stranger and was not amenable to the laws and discipline of the Geneva Church and State, and should at most have been expelled from the city as a dangerous incendiary. Instead of pursuing this course, the Council, at Calvin's instigation, arraigned him

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for heresy, refused to allow him counsel, and finally sentenced him to be burned alive along with his objectionable book.

The sentence was indeed legal, but it was a wretched travesty both of the Protestant principle and of justice, and Calvin, who indeed sought to have it mitigated to execution by the sword, must bear a large share of the odium of the barbarous finale. The sympathy of the moderns is all with the brave Spaniard, who, though arrogant and abusive, maintained his faith to the last, in spite of his natural shrinking from so fearful a death. No Protestant martyr showed more heroism at the stake than this Trinitarian heretic, who would not belie his conscience with a false recantation (27th October 1553). It is the old story of the sacrifice of an advanced and emancipated spirit to the conventional bigotry of an age, too stupid or too prejudiced to understand it or make allowance for its genius. Only the few freethinkers of the period—mostly refugee Italians like Socinus, Ochino, Gentile, and Castellio—and a few Anabaptists like David Joris, lifted up their voices against this thick-headed, barbarous bigotry. Against such champions of freethought and its victims, all Calvin and his coadjutors, like Beza, had to say was to damn toleration in the name of God. "Whoever shall now contend that it is unjust to put heretics and blasphemers to death, will, knowingly and willingly, incur their very guilt. This is not laid down on human authority; it is God that speaks and prescribes a perpetual rule for His Church." As usual throughout the Middle Ages, God was made to play the patron of human folly, brutality, and bigotry. Calvin forgot that it was this very theory that had crucified the Christ whom he professed to vindicate, and that this Christ would have been the first to disown his presumption. He might make out a plausible case from the Old Testament, but it was sheer sophistry to attempt to prove, as he did in his "Defensio," the Great Teacher a persecutor, who had rebuked John and James for seeking to call down fire from heaven, and Peter for drawing his sword to smite his enemies. Calvin, like Luther, was inconsistent in this matter. In his early days he championed toleration. Under pressure of opposition he hardened into a bitter persecutor.

Calvin was answered by Castellio, who, with the collaboration of Curio, wrote, under the pseudonym of Basilius Mon-

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fortius, and who has deservedly been lauded as the first consistent Protestant advocate of toleration. His book, "De Haereticis an sint Persequendi," professedly printed at Magdeburg in 1554, under the assumed editorship of Martinus Bellius, whose identity is uncertain, was really issued from Basel, where the tolerant spirit of Erasmus continued to leaven the University. It contains citations from the writings of some of the Protestant theologians, Luther, and even Calvin, included, Erasmus and the Church Fathers, in favour of toleration. "I have long been seeking to discover what a heretic is," wrote Castellio in his prefatory letter, "and here is what I have found: he is a man that thinks otherwise than we do respecting religion." Castellio had, of course, from the modern point of view, the best of the argument, and Beza's reply, "De Haereticis a civili magistratu puniendis Libellus," published in the same year, is weak both as an attack on toleration, and an apology for persecution. To cite Moses and the Jewish kings, to argue that the authority of the Bible must be vindicated by force, to quote Luther and Calvin in support of this obscurantist doctrine, was in reality to give away the Protestant principle, and write himself down a disciple of a Hildebrand and a Dominic. In this respect the reforming divines were children of mediæval darkness.

Calvinism, as represented by Calvin himself, is not particularly concerned with the assertion or the maintenance of political liberty. It was by no means a democratic system, though it came to have democratic tendencies in the struggle of conscience against oppression. In the treatise on Civil Government contained in "The Institute of the Christian Religion," as finally amplified, Calvin is as dogmatic as Luther in insisting, on scriptural grounds, on submission to established authority, however unjust, and has no faith, no interest, in the political progress, the social emancipation of the masses. He rather distrusts the masses, and, like Luther, regards the salvation of men's souls as the main thing. Nay, he even holds "that spiritual liberty is perfectly compatible with civil servitude." He does not understand the assertion that "in Christ there is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free" to signify the spiritual equality of Christians, apart from race or class. "It matters not what is your condition among men,

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nor under what laws you live, since in them the kingdom of Christ does not consist at all." On the other hand, he strenuously contradicts the conclusion that the Christian has therefore nothing to do with civil institutions, is superior to them. The civil and the spiritual kingdoms are not antagonistic to each other; the latter does not render the former superfluous. The Christian does not cease to be a man, and as a man he owes obedience to the civil authority. Nay, the civil authority is as necessary in every community as bread and water, light and air, and its object is not only to maintain order and security, but to maintain true religion (*i.e.*, Calvinism). He magnifies the dignity, the divine right, of the civil authority. The magistrates, *i.e.*, secular rulers, are commissioned by God, represent God, in fact, "as whose substitutes they in a manner act." They exercise judgment in His name, on His behalf. They are the agents of the divine providence. In support of which conclusion, he quotes Paul and refers to Moses, Joshua, David, and the Judges. "Wherefore," he concludes, "no man can doubt that civil authority is in the sight of God not only sacred and lawful, but the most sacred and by far the most honourable of all stations in mortal life." To controvert this conclusion under the pretext of living according to the liberty of the gospel is pure anarchy and absolutely unscriptural, as is proved by further quotations. At the same time he emphasises the necessity of good government. The fact that magistrates are the vicegerents of God, tends, or ought to tend, to the righteous discharge of their sacred calling.

The form of government is for Calvin a matter of secondary importance. It may be monarchic, aristocratic, or democratic, according to the genius of the people, the circumstances of the country. What divine providence permits he would not presume to judge, though he expresses a preference for an aristocracy, pure or modified. Monarchic government, as being dependent on the will of one man, is more liable to error and injustice than one in which the will of several tends to curb and correct one another. "And as I willingly admit that there is no kind of government happier than where liberty is framed with becoming moderation and duly constituted so as to be durable, so I deem those very happy who are permitted to enjoy that form, and I admit that they do

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nothing at variance with their duty when they strenuously and constantly labour to preserve and maintain it. Nay, even magistrates ought to do their utmost to prevent the liberty, of which they have been appointed guardians, from being impaired, far less violated. If in this they are sluggish or little careful, they are perfidious traitors to their office and their country."

He dislikes political agitation, however, and is evidently no believer in political progress. He treats politics, Bible in hand, as a theologian, not as a philosopher, an independent thinker. He is in his own way as much the slave of a theological theory as the schoolmen. "Should those to whom the Lord has assigned one form of government take it upon them anxiously to look for a change, the wish would not only be foolish and superfluous, but very pernicious. . . . For if it has pleased Him to appoint kings over kingdoms, and senates or burgomasters over free States, whatever be the form which He has appointed in the places in which we live, our duty is to obey and submit."

The office of magistrates being divinely instituted, it follows from Calvin's point of view that one of their principal functions is "to take care that religion flourishes under them in purity and safety." What folly are those guilty of, therefore, who contend that the magistrate should concern himself merely with the administration of law. "Such views are adopted by turbulent men, who, in their eagerness to make all kinds of innovations with impunity, would fain get rid of all the vindicators of violated piety." In Calvin's eyes the secular and the spiritual, though distinct, are closely connected, and practically he is the champion of a theocracy in the interest of the Church. The duty of the magistrate to maintain the law of God, as well as the law of the land, leads him, moreover, to propound some dangerous maxims from the standpoint of liberty of conscience. If he is persuaded that the authority of God is at stake, he will not swerve from using the strong arm of the law to maintain it. Moses slaying three thousand of his countrymen in one day for sacrilege is only executing the divine judgment. "How is it that the meek and gentle temper of Moses becomes so exasperated that, besmeared and reeking with the blood of his brethren, he runs through the

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camp making new slaughter? How is it that David, who through his whole life showed so much mildness, almost with his last breath leaves with his son the bloody testament not to allow the grey hairs of Joab and Shimei to go to the grave in peace? Both by their sternness sanctified the hands which they would have polluted by showing mercy, inasmuch as they executed the vengeance committed to them by God." This divine "vengeance" is only too evidently a trait in the stern character of the writer, though he warns against "an unseasonable severity" as well as against a misplaced clemency. He applies it to opinions as well as to actions, and covers the most atrocious inhumanity, in the case of Moses, with the pretext of "the divine authority." In this he shows himself as fanatic and furious a persecutor on principle as a Dominic. In defence of the faith the State must execute the will of God, *i.e.*, of the theologian who claims a monopoly of its interpretation. "I wish it could always be present to our mind that nothing is done here by the rashness of man, but all in obedience to the authority of God. When it is the guide, we never stray from the right path, unless indeed divine justice is to be placed under restraint and not allowed to take punishment on error." A very "rash" assertion, to say the least, considering the proneness of the human mind to mistake its own passions for divine justice, its own tyrannic impulses for the authority of God.

Apart from the dangerous attribution to the State of the right to use compulsion in the service of the Church, Calvin seeks to guard, by at least moral restraint, against the abuse of power. Taxation is a legitimate source of revenue to princes, but they should remember "that taxes are not so much privileged chests as treasuries of the whole people which they cannot without manifest injustice squander or dilapidate. . . . They should also consider that these levies and contributions, and other kind of taxes, are merely subsidies of the public necessity, and that it is tyrannical rapacity to harass the poor people with them without cause." He does not, however, go the length of recognising the right of resistance to misgovernment, but contents himself with threatening princes with "the divine displeasure." "Private individuals may not rashly and petulantly stigmatise the

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expenditure of princes, though it should exceed the ordinary limits." Nay, they owe obedience to even a tyrannic prince, and in support of this extreme view of obedience he quotes a large number of passages from the Old and New Testaments. "And since in almost all ages we see that some princes, careless of their duties, on which they ought to have been intent, live, without solicitude, in luxurious sloth; others, bent on their own interest, venially prostitute all rights, privileges, judgments, and enactments; others pillage poor people of their money, and afterwards squander it in insane largesses; others act as mere robbers, pillaging houses, violating matrons, and slaying the innocent,—many cannot be persuaded to recognise such persons for princes, whose command, as far as lawful, they are bound to obey. For while in this unworthy conduct . . . they behold no appearance of the image of God, which ought to be conspicuous in every magistrate, they cannot recognise the ruler whose dignity and authority Scripture recommends to us. And undoubtedly the natural feeling of the human mind has always been not less to assail tyrants with hatred and execration, than to look up to just kings with love and veneration. But if we have respect to the Word of God it will lead us further, and make us subject not only to the authority of those princes who honestly and faithfully perform their duty towards us, but to all princes, by whatever means they have so become, although there is nothing they less perform than the duty of princes." "Although the Lord takes vengeance on unbridled dominations (as is proved by historical examples), let us not, therefore, suppose that that vengeance is committed to us, to whom no command has been given but to suffer and obey." It is only the part of those specially appointed for this purpose to crush the tyranny of rulers, as in the case of the Ephori among the Spartans, the Tribunes of the people among the Romans, the Demarchs among the Athenians. In modern kingdoms, he is inclined, though not dogmatically, to invest this power in the three orders of the States-General.

Calvin thus leaves little or no room for political progress. For him Scripture settles everything in politics as in theology. Authority once established, always established, is evidently his conviction, and, no matter how absurd or unendurable, it must

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be acquiesced in, except where the constitution provides a remedy. In his respect for constituted authority he is as dogmatic as Luther, and his theological teaching in this matter would lead to an equally leaden uniformity of subjection.

There is one grand exception, with Calvin as with Luther, to obedience. The Lord is King of kings, and obedience to earthly power is conditioned by obedience to the heavenly King. "We are subject to the men who rule over us, but subject only in the Lord. If they command anything against Him, let us not pay the least regard to it, nor be moved by all the dignity they possess as magistrates." We must therefore endure everything rather than turn aside from piety. He does not say that we may resist. But the refusal to obey was ere long to lead to the right to resist in the face of persecution. Calvin's successors were not to prove so tractable as their master in this respect. They were not content to quote Scripture and suffer: as we shall see presently from the history of France, the Netherlands, Scotland, they grasped their swords to strike back at the persecutor.

The Calvinistic Church polity, if not the political views of Calvin himself, has often been lauded as democratic. Calvin indeed, in "The Institution," emphasises the ancient right of the Christian congregation to elect its pastor. He insists, too, on the ancient right of the lay element to a voice in government and discipline. He presents us with the picture of the primitive congregation managing its affairs through its elected ministers, elders, deacons, as the scriptural model. In practice, however, he was no friend of popular election, and he refers with approval to the expedient adopted by the Council of Laodicea of limiting the power of the multitude, on the ground of the proverb that "opposing wishes rend the fickle crowd." He was evidently not prepared to subscribe, even in congregational matters, to the dictum that "the voice of the people is the voice of God." He prefers in the Church, as well as in the State, the voice of the few to the voice of the many. "Whether it is better to elect the minister by the voices of all the members of the congregation, or only by those of a few, or by the advice of the magistrate, cannot be determined by law. We must be guided in this respect by times

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and circumstances. Cyprian strongly urged that the election is legitimate only when all the members give their assent. History also shows that this rule held good in many places. But as it is scarcely to be expected that so many people would entertain the same feeling, it seems to me desirable that the magistrate, or the council, or the elders, should undertake the election, and that certain bishops (ministers) known for their rectitude and piety should be called to their aid." In the organisation of the Church at Geneva he acted on this principle. The lay element predominated in the presbytery of Geneva, but the lay element was not popularly elected, and the ministers were presented to and approved by the congregation rather than elected by it. Nevertheless, the co-operation of this lay element, though restricted within a somewhat aristocratic limit, was an advance upon the Lutheran Church polity, and marks a wider breach with that of Rome. It realised the idea of some of the more advanced Conciliar reformers of the fifteenth century. Calvin inveighed as bitterly, though not so coarsely, as Luther against the Romish hierarchy as an unwarranted and tyrannical invasion of the rights of the Christian Church. The power of the pope and the hierarchy is the fruit of usurpation, and has no basis whatever in the New Testament or the primitive Church. Christ alone is the head of the Church, though this headship is compatible with the co-operation of the magistrate in things ecclesiastical. The pope is Antichrist, a tyrant, the enemy of Christian liberty, and, in dethroning the pope, the Genevan pope, as he has been called, believed that he was vindicating the rights of the Christian community, if not of the individual. And, in spite of his aristocratic prejudices, he was paving the way for the vindication of a liberty wider than that which he or his generation was able to appreciate.

John Calvin, in common with all the great reformers, has been the object of enthusiastic laudation and bitter invective. Every fair-minded man must recognise his extraordinary intellectual power, his marvellous devotion to and capacity for work, his transcendent influence on the world of his day. Judged by the effects of his labours, political as well as religious, he must be pronounced to be one of those rare men

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to whom it is given, for good or for evil, to form history in the mould of an inflexible will. He may rank as the equal of Hildebrand and Luther in this respect. Nay, in regard to his far-reaching influence, he is more like Hildebrand than Luther. Unlike Hildebrand and Luther, he had no vast empire as his field of action; he toiled in a small city of less than twenty thousand inhabitants, and yet he made Geneva the capital of a vast spiritual dominion, which embraced France, part of Germany, Holland, England to some extent, Scotland, and, through England, the northern half of the New World. Luther's influence was ultimately little felt beyond the bounds of the empire and the neighbouring Scandinavian lands, and only a part of even Germany bowed to his ecclesiastical sceptre. After the first few years of propagandism, Lutheranism became stagnant, impotent for expansion. Calvinism, on the other hand, became the crusading force of the Reformation. It gathered its strength for invasion, battle, conquest, and it won kingdoms, states, far beyond the little city on the shores of Lake Leman. Its missionary, aggressive spirit did not spend itself in a brief spurt of proselytism. It lived as a religious and political force, through defeat and triumph alike, to mould the destiny of kingdoms as old as Scotland and England, States yet unborn, like Holland and the United States. To trace the course of liberty among the modern nations (of despotism, too, alas!) is partly at least to write the history of Calvinism. To attribute the destiny of Calvinism to Calvin himself would be to overrate the man and his influence. Many men, many influences, contributed to the shaping of that destiny, and these men went, happily, beyond Calvin in their inflexible resistance to oppression, if unhappily many of them only too closely imitated him in his intolerant and harsh dogmatism. Nevertheless, the man that gave the impulse to the movement, inspired it with a living power of conviction, endurance, self-assertion, deserves generous recognition for the qualities that made him a great leader of men as well as a great dogmatist. He had a rare faculty for convincing himself that he was right, and to this faculty is due the inspiration that made his followers in many lands heroes and martyrs. That terrible dogma of predestination, to which Burns has given such crass expression, was a dogma for

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strong men, a creed for stern fighters for God and right against all the world, and to it we owe some of the most heroic chapters of human history. To it we owe the puritan drama in France, Holland, England, Scotland, and America, if also some sad chapters in the history of human bigotry. Calvin gave the Bible and nothing but the Bible to his followers—the Bible of the Hebrew prophet as well as the Christian apostle,—and what this Bible accomplished in such hands in vindicating human rights against persecution we shall see as we review the deeds of Huguenot, Sea Beggar, Puritan, and Covenanter.

Singular fact! The man who made millions of his fellowmen heroes as well as bigots was himself a sickly creature, and would have been a valetudinarian but for his absolute belief in God and His providence, in predestination and election. It was this belief that made him, in spite of his natural infirmities, the mighty influence he was. It is never Calvin, but God that does all. This is a tremendous assumption for mortal to make. Calvin made it, and he possessed the needful intellectual and moral power to give it scope during his careworn life of suffering and battle.

SOURCES.—Huldreich Zwingli, Opera Omnia, edited by Schuler and Schulthess (1828-42); Zwingli's Sämtliche Werke, edited by Egli and Finsler, in course of publication in the Corpus Reformatorum; Joh. Calvini, Opera Omnia, edited by Baum, Kunitz, and Reuss for the Corpus Reformatorum (1863 onwards), more particularly Book IV. of the Institutio, which treats of the Church and the Civil Government, translated by Beveridge for the Calvin Translation Society (1846); Herminjard, Correspondance des Reformateurs dans les Pays de langue Française (1866-86); Beza, Joh. Calvini Vita, translated by Beveridge in vol. 50 in the series of the Translation Society; Calvin, Defensio orthodoxae Fidei (1554); Castellio, De Haereticis an sint Persequendi, &c. (1554); Beza, De Haereticis a civili Magistratu Puniendis Libellus (1554); Jackson, Huldreich Zwingli (1901); Selected Works of Zwingli, trans. and edited by Jackson (1901); Henry, Das Leben Johann Calvins (1835-44), translated by Stebbing (1849); Dyer, Life of John Calvin (1850); Schaff, History of

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CHAPTER VII.

THE CONFLICT FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN FRANCE.

THE father of the Reformation in France was Jacques Lefèvre d'Etaples (Faber Stapulensis). He was not only independent of Luther; he preceded him as an evangelical theologian, if not as an aggressive reformer. Lefèvre was a doctor of the Sorbonne, and taught mathematics and physics at Paris for many years before he gave himself in his old age to the serious study of the Scriptures. He was one of the earlier champions of the new culture in France, and his merits as a scholar and teacher earned him the favour of Louis XII. and Francis I. To his pupils he was "The Restorer of Philosophy." Of some of them at least he was also the spiritual father, who taught them to see in the Bible the only source of faith. In 1512 he published a Latin commentary on the Epistles of St Paul, with a new translation of the text from the Greek. Ten years later followed his commentary, also in Latin, on the Gospels. During the next six years he completed a translation into French of both the Old and New Testaments. These works show the trend of the teaching of the venerable reformer. The authority of the Bible, justification by faith, the nullity of good works apart from faith, the invalidity of the mass except as a commemoration of the sacrifice of Christ, the all-sufficiency of Christ apart from pope, hierarchy, or schoolmen, are the cardinal doctrines of the man who formed in William Farel the future reformer of Geneva. Such heresies were sufficient to bring on him the condemnation of the Sorbonne, and he owed his safety from the consequences of his expulsion to the protection of Francis I. and his sister Marguerite, Queen of Navarre. He found a congenial refuge at Meaux, the episcopal seat of W. Briçonnet, the patron of all the reforming spirits of the day, the champion of a reform within the Church on scriptural lines. To a Lefèvre, a Briçonnet, reform did not

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necessarily involve antagonism to the Church. Even Luther had at first cherished the idea of reformation from within. Luther soon learned to know better, and hurled defiance at Antichrist. Erasmus clung to the same idea even after Luther had broken with it. Such reformers had hitherto found that to attempt a reform within the Church, especially the reformation of the pope and the curia, was to swim against the tide. The Council that was at last to set things right never met, or only met at Trent when it was too late to bridge the gulf between Papists and Protestants. Briçonnet speedily discovered, after the defeat of Pavia had thrown the reins into the hands of Francis' mother, Louise of Savoy, that heresy such as Lefèvre and his disciple Farel taught, would cost him his see and probably his life, and, unlike Luther, he gave up the contest and refrained from such dangerous innovations in deference to the decrees of the Sorbonne and the Parliament of Paris. In 1525 he damned Luther, who had already been condemned by the Sorbonne in 1521, and publicly retracted his errors. Lefèvre fled to Strassburg. Some of his disciples, less fortunate, or more heroic, notably Jacques Pavannes, were burned for heresy.

The policy of repression, which was to rend France for a century, was thus inaugurated by the Sorbonne and the Parliament of Paris. This policy found, however, an occasional check in the humanist sympathies and the political necessities of Francis I. Francis did not love the bigoted doctors of the Sorbonne; he did love very passionately his sister Marguerite, who ridiculed these doctors, and felt a keen sympathy with heretic reformers and freethinkers; he joined in his sister's laugh at their expense. He was, moreover, an enthusiastic humanist, and patronised the new tendencies of the age; he was not sorry to check the heresy hunters of the Parliament in the exercise of his absolute power. Besides, whether he liked heresy or not, he was forced at times to cultivate the alliance of the Lutheran princes of Germany and the reformed Swiss confederates, and this Philo-Lutheran policy involved the toleration of heretics. Thus, by policy or intellectual sympathy, he was for a time but an indifferent persecutor. From both motives he sought for a season, after his liberation from his prison at Madrid, to hold the balance

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between the bigots and their antagonists. An aggressive and incorrigible heretic, like Louis Berquin at Paris, or Jean de Caturce at Toulouse, was occasionally burned. Nicolas Cop, the reforming rector of the University of Paris, and his friend, John Calvin, were driven into exile, the one for preaching, the other for writing an outspoken, reforming sermon towards the end of 1533.

Nevertheless, reason and policy might have continued to thwart the truculent bigotry of Sorbonne and Parliament, had not the zeal of some of the heretics outrun their discretion. In October 1534 an angry fanatic had the hardihood to affix a placard denouncing the mass and the pope in the most violent language to the door of the royal chamber at Amboise. Francis saw in this senseless act an insult to his own majesty as well as to the Church. He vindicated both by walking in solemn procession on the 29th January 1535 to Nôtre Dame, and giving the signal for a holocaust of six heretics, who were suspended from a gallows over blazing faggots and slowly roasted to death. Even after this exhibition of orthodox ferocity, Francis is found vacillating for a couple of years towards moderation. He urged Melancthon to visit Paris and bring about a reconciliation between Lutherans and Catholics. He suspended persecution and granted a conditional amnesty. "The prospects of the gospel in France," wrote Sturm, "were never so hopeful." The illusion was of short duration. The conference with Charles V. at Aigues Mortes in 1538 threw Francis definitely on the side of repression, converted him into the steady champion of the reaction which was to stem the tide of reform and win back the ground lost to the Roman Church. A shower of persecuting edicts in 1539, 1540, 1542, 1543, culminated in the horrible outrage in the Vaudois valleys in 1545. The humanist was swallowed up in the bigot, and failing health towards the end of his career made of the bigot a bloody tyrant. According to M. Martin, three towns and twenty-two villages were destroyed, 3,000 persons—men, women, children—murdered, 252 executed after a mock trial, from 600 to 700 sent to the galleys, a large number of children sold as slaves. Not the least horrible feature of the savage business is the fact that Pope Paul IV. rewarded Baron D'Oppède, the monster who

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carried it out, with the Order of St John de Lateran! It may mitigate the guilt of Francis to say that he was the dupe of Cardinal Tournon, but ignorance is a poor palliative in the case of an absolute potentate who signed the order of execution and approved of it by letters royal. Even the inquiry directed, on grounds of justice by Henry II., was but a sham, and resulted in the exculpation, with one insignificant exception, of the perpetrators, from Baron D'Oppède downwards.

This truculent policy of repression was dictated as much by the autocrat as the bigot. In the view of the morbid monarch, heresy came to mean rebellion against the crown as well as against the Church. In the edict of 1543 the heretics are denounced as "seditious perturbers of the repose of the kingdom, secret conspirators against the prosperity of our State, rebels, and disobedient against us and our justice." "Give the people a new religion," said the papal nuncio to the sensitive king, "and they will soon demand a new prince." The insinuation was a calumny invented by the bigots in order the better to compass the destruction of their antagonists. Unlike in Germany, the spread of the new creed in France was not accompanied by the growth of a rebellious spirit in the masses. There was indeed no lack of provocation to rebellion in the excessive taxation imposed to maintain the chronic wars of Francis against his great rival Charles V., in the misery consequent on bad harvests and pestilence. In spite of the splendours of the reign of the magnificent humanist king, the realm was not prosperous, the people far from contented. His government was a tissue of maladministration, notwithstanding occasional reforming edicts, which were not properly enforced. "Corruption is everywhere," notes the Venetian ambassador, Cavalli, in 1546. "If all the swindlers were to be hanged, there would scarcely remain a treasurer-general in France." The blame might be with the royal officials rather than with their master. But Francis was an incurable spendthrift, who claimed and practised the right to fleece the people *ad libitum*. He posed as the absolute monarch *par excellence*, never summoned the States-General, paid no heed to the remonstrances of the Provincial States, and browbeat the Parliament of Paris by *Lettres-de-Jussion*. He had little or none of the solicitude of his

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predecessor, Louis XII., for the people's welfare, while he outdid all his predecessors in the assertion of his right to rule them as he pleased. "How much does your kingdom bring you a year?" asked Charles V. "As much as I will," was the proud reply. Nevertheless, France was, on the whole, very submissive under the sceptre of the most magnificent of its kings, next to Louis XIV. The Venetian ambassadors who recorded their observations in the reports which they sent at various times to the Doge and Council at Venice, were as much struck with the servility of the people as with the imperiousness of the king. France had learned in the stern school of mediæval anarchy to bear much at the hands of its rulers, and its sixteenth-century kings were not slow to take advantage of its long-suffering.

"The French," remarks Cavalli in 1546, "honour their king with a sentiment so profound that they have given him not only their goods and their lives, but their honour and their souls." "There are other countries, such as Spain and Germany, greater and more powerful than France, but there is not one so easy to manage. In this lies its strength—in its unity and obedience. . . . Some people are born to obey, others to command, . . . and the French have entirely surrendered their liberty and their will to the king. It is sufficient for him to say, 'I wish such and such a sum, I ordain, I consent;' and the execution of his will is as prompt as if the whole nation had acted on its own initiative. The thing has already gone so far that some of the French who see further than others, say, 'Our kings were formerly called kings of the Franks (*Reges Francorum*); at present one might call them kings of the Slaves (*Reges Servorum*). . . . The present king (Francis I.) can boast that he has outdone all his predecessors." "The kingdom of France," notes Suriano, fifteen years later, "depends on the supreme will of the king, who is loved and served by his people, and possesses an absolute authority. He is prince by natural right, since this form of government has lasted for more than a thousand years (*sic*). He does not succeed by election, and thus is not forced to wean the affection of the people, and, as his title does not rest on force, he is not tempted to be cruel and tyrannic." The later Valois were not men of force of character or will, yet, at

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the accession of Francis II. in 1559, French loyalty, according to another of these ambassadors, Giovanni Michele, was so great that even a weak king could play the arbitrary ruler with impunity. "The French kings are absolute masters of their subjects, who profess not merely a devoted obedience and a great affection for their prince; they reverence, they adore him. Thus the king may tax their goods, their labour, their lives, all that they have, without fear of revolt. It is as if they were slaves." These ambassadors see things in rather roseate colours, and some of them are great admirers of autocracy. They do not stop to explain the inconsistency between this universal affection for the monarch and the universal misery which they occasionally note. Michele, in fact, celebrates "the devoted obedience and great affection" of the subject for the prince at the very moment that a large number of these same subjects was preparing to dispute the royal will by force of arms! In his opinion, the great liberality of the French kings towards their friends and servants is sufficient to maintain the good relations of master and slave. "The French kings do not practise economy, because they well know that their greatness, their power, their treasures, consist in their liberality towards their friends and servants." Though the sequel of civil war was to disprove Michele's assurances of the abject servility of the French people, it did not shake the royal pretension to be absolute master of France. "The authority of the king," wrote Girolamo Lippomano in 1577, "is in every sense absolute. Formerly it was limited from time to time. Now, the kings say that they are no longer minors, and they will recognise no other law but their own will."

To see in the religious antagonism to the Church on the part of a handful of heretics in the reign of Francis I. an evidence of disloyalty to the monarch, of treason and sedition, seems, in view of these facts, very far-fetched. A Peasants' War in France in the reign of Francis I., under the inspiration of the new creed, is unthinkable. Sedition went no further than the refusal to submit in matters of faith to an arbitrary will, and it is not easy to see, in this kind of sedition, "conspiracy, rebellion against the State." The crown of Francis I. would have been in no danger had he refrained from burning

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a single heretic. On the other hand, the savage policy of repression which he finally adopted and pursued with such terrible results, was the surest method of straining even the servile loyalty of the people to breaking point. In the face of atrocities like those perpetrated in Dauphiné, it would not be surprising if men were driven to question the right of even an absolute king to play the tyrant in the service of the savage bigotry preached by a Cardinal Tournon and practised by a horde of ruffians. In the long run, the claim to burn, torture, murder men in deference to intolerant and tyrannic edicts did make rebels of heretics. The heretic at last grasped the sword to defend his life and take vengeance on his oppressors. It was not heresy, but the brutal repressions of it, that brought things to this pass. Francis I. was the real "perturber of the kingdom," when in an evil hour for France and for his dynasty he definitely gave himself into the hands of zealots like Cardinal Tournon, and steeled his heart against the more moderate policy of men like Cardinal Du Bellay.

In spite of repressive edicts and repeated holocausts of heretics, heresy continued to grow even in the reign of Francis. "The Lutherans," remarks Cavalli in 1546, "are everywhere very numerous, and have possession of entire towns (Caen, Poitiers, La Rochelle, and several cities of Provence), where the Protestant cult is not publicly avowed, but tacitly allowed." Its growth was phenomenal in that of his successor, Henry II. Edict succeeded edict in vain. Equally vain the establishment of a special tribunal in the Parliament of Paris—the *Chambre Ardente*—for the trial of heretics. Nay, the papal bull itself of April 1557, which the Parliament registered by royal command, appointing three cardinal inquisitors for the whole of France, had little effect in stamping out the plague of heresy. There was no lack of zeal in persecution, and fearful enough were the scenes that followed the barbarous sentences of the *Chambre Ardente* and the provincial courts, as may be read in the histories and martyr-books of the period. Zeal and brutality failed utterly to preserve the monopoly of orthodoxy to the traditional Church. "The Lutherans," as the heretics were erroneously termed, swelled in numbers to such a degree, especially in the south-west, that an assembly of the numerous

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congregations throughout the kingdom met at Paris in 1559 to organise a general synod and adopt a confession of faith and a common discipline. And the heretics drew recruits not merely from the masses but from the middle class and the nobility. Some of these high-born recruits like the Sieur D'Andelot, brother of Admiral Coligny, were already fearless partisans. Others like the King of Navarre and his brother, the Prince of Condé, the Queen of Navarre and the Princess of Condé, were at this period at least powerful sympathisers.

In the Parliament itself heresy found its intrepid champions, in spite of its continued denunciation in the royal edicts as rank sedition—"the enemy of all monarchy and principality, the source of all confusion." At a royal sitting held on the 10th June 1559 in the convent of the Grands Augustins for the purpose of voting more stringent measures, Du Faur and Du Bourg, undeterred by the presence of royalty and exalted Church dignitaries like the Cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, rebutted the charge of sedition against the Protestants and transferred the guilt of the fruits of persecution to their persecutors. "Religious dissension," said Du Faur, "is indeed a source of disorder, but who is the real author of these troubles? Beware lest what Elias of old said be applicable to this contingency, 'Art thou not he that troubleth Israel?'" Then came the turn of Anne Du Bourg, where evangelical fervour could not be restrained even by the royal presence. "It is no small matter to condemn those who in the midst of the flames invoke the name of Jesus Christ. Should such men be so punished when so many hideous crimes—so many adulteries, abominable debaucheries, perjuries—are committed every day with impunity? Is it sedition to seek to reform abuses and to expose the vices of the Romish religion by the light of Scripture?" For this spirited vindication of their faith Du Faur and Du Bourg were instantly sent to the Bastille.

These "Lutherans" were made, not in Germany but at Geneva. In the pathetic stories of these early martyrdoms, preserved by Beza and Crespin, the influence of Geneva in spreading the Protestant crusade all over the kingdom is very patent. Many of these martyrs were intercepted returning from Geneva or Lausanne to carry on the crusade in their native places. They were of various class and calling—

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merchants, students, lawyers, schoolmasters, even artisans who had been to Geneva, or had been taught by those whom Geneva had inspired with the missionary, the martyr spirit. Very noticeable is the potent influence of "Lutheran," *alias* Genevan, books which these missionaries scattered by the way. The printing press was, in fact, the grand missionary. Traditional authority had a mortal terror of these "little books" of which the Venetian speaks. "It is especially needful," wrote Correro, "to have a care of these little books which they diffuse. They are like a charm thrown by an enemy, who is unable to do harm by the spoken word. Men are naturally curious, and even without evil intention they open these books, they read, and, finding therein a burning language and plenty of citations from Scripture, they do not reflect that these passages are false, or mutilated, and their minds are captivated." Hence the stringent regulations against such in the edict of June 1551. No good Christian and good subject might import or read them, and those who possessed any work condemned by the Sorbonne must deliver it up forthwith. No printer might print a translation of the Bible, or any theological work not sanctioned by the Paris or other theological faculty, on pain of confiscation of life and goods. Printing offices and booksellers' shops were liable to visits of inspection, in Lyons particularly, where the commerce in foreign books was very active. No pedlar might carry or sell books on any condition, since many have been poisoned by the Geneva rabies hidden among their wares. The edict even took the saints under its protection, no caricature, no breaking of images, being permissible. A whole army of judicial officials, nay, every loyal and orthodox subject, was put on the scent of heretics and conventicles. And yet those little books were printed, sold, given away, read by the thousand, and heresy spread its roots wider and deeper among the people. Despotism is no match in the long run for the printing press and the martyr.

In the reign of Henry II., which came to so tragic a terminus in July 1559, other voices besides that of the heretic were heard demanding reformation—reformation in the State as well as the Church. Corruption and misgovernment, bad enough under Francis I., became worse under Henry II., who

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was the mere tool of avaricious parasites like Diana of Poitiers, the Constable Montmorency, and the Guise family. "It seemed," bitterly observes the gruff Tavannes, "as if the king had conspired with these two families to partition France in their favour, to the ruin of his children and the kingdom." It is not surprising, therefore, that even the docile French peasant was goaded into rebellion by the rapacity of the royal officials. One of the main articles of commerce of the Aquitanian towns was salt. Their inhabitants drove a lucrative trade in this article with the English, the Dutch, the Germans, before the augmentation of the *gabelle* or salt tax by Francis I. That trade had been greatly hampered by the tax and by the oppressions of the swarms of corrupt customs officials that collected it. Each family was bound to make use of a certain quantity annually, and to purchase it at the royal warehouses, at what soon became an exorbitant price. Even then the warehouse-keepers were accused of mixing the salt with sand to increase its bulk. Every family was liable to visits of inspection, and to fine, imprisonment, confiscation, in case of failure to purchase the compulsory quantity of this highly taxed, highly priced salt—often of vile quality. The people bore this exaction patiently for a time, for its loyalty, according to contemporary evidence, was not easily provoked into rebellion. It was regarded as the mule, the burden-bearer of the State. "The peasantry," remarked Suriano, "is the class most harshly treated by the king and the privileged orders (*i.e.*, the nobles and the higher clergy). The Emperor Maximilian called the King of France the king of asses, because his subjects bore all kinds of burdens, even in peace, without complaining." Even the patience of the mule is not inexhaustible, however, and the popular anger at last broke out in revolt. In 1548 some of these salt purveyors were slain, and a party of Gascon soldiery having punished this popular outburst with atrocious severity, the peasants of Barbesieux and the neighbouring villages burst open the prison of Chateauneuf and freed the victims of the salt tax tyranny. The King of Navarre, governor of Guienne, having sent a company of troops to repress the rebels, the whole region sprang to arms, and successfully defied his authority. The cry of "Death to the gabelleurs" resounded far and

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near, and in response to this cry nearly the whole of South-west France and the islands off the coast rose in revolt. In a few weeks forty thousand men had joined the movement, and the scene enacted at Chateauneuf was repeated all over the country. The insurrectionists did not stop short at battering in the prison doors and freeing the salt smugglers and other inmates. At Saintes and Cognac, for instance, they sacked the houses of the receivers-general and other members of the fiscal hierarchy. Two of these they maltreated in a shocking fashion and pitched into the Charente, near Cognac, with the ironic exhortation, "Go, you damned gabelleurs, salt the fish of the Charente." The revolutionary spirit, whetted by pillage, was carried by the peasants of the neighbouring districts to Bordeaux, and soon proved too strong for the governor, Moneins, and the town council to control. Moneins assumed a valiant mien, and tried intimidation. He was interrupted in the midst of his speech by democratic cries against tyranny. At the sound of the tocsin the peasants and the townspeople flocked to arms against the governor and the garrison. Even the president and the councillors of the Parliament, and other high personages, were compelled to doff their robes for pike and sailor cap (*bonnets à la matelot*), and look on at the pillaging of the dwellings of obnoxious gabelleurs. Moneins persuaded himself to try the effect of another speech under the protection of the town councillors. A wiser man would have stayed behind the strong walls of the castle (Château Trompette). The luckless orator was cut in pieces in the town house for his pains; the garrison was forced to surrender, and further pillage and massacre gave expression to the rage of the populace, before the more orderly element succeeded in getting the upper hand and restoring tranquillity.

The tidings of this outbreak reached Henry in Piedmont, whither he had gone to receive the homage of his Italian subjects and inspect his troops. It was a jarring note in the joyous harmony of courtly festivity. Henry, like his father, could enjoy the frivolous amusements of a giddy court, whilst the bulk of the population of a large district of his kingdom was being maddened by hunger and injustice into a rising in self-defence. The jar in the joyous dream of those advent days roused the ire of the monarch and the gay gentlemen

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who accompanied him, and drank in enjoyment in sunny Italy. "Exterminate the vermin," growled Montmorency, hardened by his experience in Provence, which he formerly laid waste to arrest the progress of the Imperialists. "People the country with a more loyal population. With a few hundreds of these veterans hardened in Italian warfare, and a few hundred more German landsknechts, I could root them out ever so expeditiously to your majesty's entire satisfaction." So Montmorency. Henry, though angry, was not cruel. He did not rise to the occasion, and contented himself with despatching Montmorency from Lyons, and Francis of Guise, eldest son of Duke Claude, and at this period Duke of Aumale, at the head of two detachments, to punish the rebels, with instructions to eschew pillage and perpetrate no cruelties. The Constable took the road to Toulouse, Aumale to Poitiers, scattering the peasantry by the very report of their advance, and subsequently joining near Pujols, between the Garonne and the Dordogne, preliminary to attacking Bordeaux. The crestfallen citizens strove to disarm the animosity of the Constable by sending a ship, bearing his arms and gorgeously furnished, to bring him to the town. The Constable was too eager for vengeance to be mollified by this act of courtesy, or moved by the harangue of the orator of the citizen deputation. He would not, he growled, enter by gate or harbour, for he had in his train (twenty pieces of artillery) wherewith to open him a door. He took indeed a terrible revenge, oblivious of the royal instructions. A veritable reign of terror followed his entry as unchallenged conqueror. The most horrible tortures were meted out with a relentless hand. "More than a hundred and forty persons suffered terrible deaths," wrote an eye-witness, some being hanged, others decapitated, broken on the wheel, impaled, torn in pieces by four horses, burned, while three were treated to a new sort of torture, being malleted, or smashed by an iron club into a pulp, and then thrown into the fire, the executioner finishing his bloody work with the exclamation, "Go, you mad *canaille*, roast the fish of the Charente, which you have salted with the bodies of the officers of your king and sovereign lord." By the Constable's command the body of Moneins was disinterred, and carried by the town councillors, followed by the

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citizens, with every mark of mourning and contrition, to the choir of the cathedral of St Andrew. The councillors were further compelled to burn the charters of the rights and privileges of the city with their own hands, and pay a fine of 200,000 livres. The bells of the churches were removed, and the town house destroyed. Equal barbarity was practised against the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts, two of their leaders being crowned with red-hot iron crowns and broken on the wheel. Finally, justice and gentlemanly *amour propre* being sufficiently honoured by these brutalities, the privileges of Bordeaux were shortly after restored, and the *gabelle* commuted for a payment of 1,200,000 livres by the rebellious provinces. This act of grace only made the tax more burdensome for the non-exempted districts.

The horrible visitation left its mark not only on the memories of the time; it called forth an impassioned protest against the tyranny of kings, which is remarkable as the first literary expression, in France, of the anger of an outraged people. It was not written by one of the people, but by an educated man, who to the culture of letters added the verve of public spirit and an intense sympathy with popular suffering. The author was a councillor of the Parliament of Bordeaux, the beloved friend of his fellow-councillor Montaigne, and like him an ardent disciple of the wisdom and poetry of classic antiquity. It is all the more significant on this account, for in this respect it anticipates the eighteenth century, is an earnest of a time when injustice and inhumanity were to find their aggressor in the highest intellect and soul of France. I refer to the "Contre Un," or "Discours sur la Servitude Volontaire" of La Boëtie. It is a juvenile production, for it was written at the age of twenty-two. It is more philippic than philosophy—belligerent, doctrinaire, and intolerant, but instinct with justice and sympathy. It has, nevertheless, a far greater interest than its hostile critics, who have read it without reference to the events at Bordeaux, will allow—the interest, not of a political treatise but of a passionate protest against injustice and oppression, reeking with the blood of the people. To be understood, it must be read in the light of these events, and as a denunciation of them its language is none too strong, though it is more denunciatory than practical,

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and rouses the revolutionary spirit without providing a remedy for abuses.

How a million of men can submit to the absolute *régime* of a king, especially a bad king, is what La Boëtie, like most reasonable beings, cannot understand. That men out of gratitude for some benefit should place one of themselves in a position in which he might do them untold harm, shows a lamentable want of foresight. To remain in subjection and suffer every species of wrong is worse than cowardice. If a man were to announce this voluntary servitude as hearsay, and not as a fact patent to all, nobody would believe him. The people is the author of its own slavery, for to recover its liberty it has merely to will its freedom. Liberty, it would seem, is not a blessing desired by man, for, though he has but to desire in order to attain it, he prefers to remain in an effeminate slavery. Be resolute to serve no longer, and you will be free. If this seems paradoxical, it is because, cries La Boëtie, the love of liberty, the most natural of sentiments, has been so long stifled by bondage that it has ceased to seem natural. Nevertheless, man is born in subjection only to his parents and to reason. Nature has given the same form to all, in order that all may realise their brotherhood. If there is any advantage in individual ability, it ought only the more to foster fraternal affection between man and man by enabling the strong to minister to the necessities of the weak. Nature has ordained society, companionship, for man, not the oppression of the weak by the strong. Liberty is therefore natural. Long live liberty! The kingship in any form—whether obtained by election, succession, or conquest—appears to La Boëtie, who has in his view the absolute sway of a Henry II., equally hostile to liberty. The king who has been elected strives to affirm his power at the expense of liberty; the king by succession regards the people as his natural slaves; the conqueror as his prey. A man born unaccustomed to modern subjection would certainly instinctively prefer to obey his reason rather than any other man. Men become slaves only by constraint and deception, never by natural impulse. At first they usually deceive themselves in this matter, to discover speedily that they have been and are being duped. So apt are they to mistake for nature what they owe only to their

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birth, to mistake custom, which teaches servitude, for nature, which teaches freedom. Nature, unfortunately, loses her power the less she is cultivated. As a plant may be transformed by engrafting some foreign twig on its stem, so human nature may be entirely distorted by custom. Custom, then, is the first cause of this voluntary servitude, in which men seem to live so naturally. Happily, there are exceptions even to the power of custom. Such exceptions are the men "who, possessed of strong intelligence and insight, are not content, like the great mass, to regard what is before their eyes, but look beyond and behind them, studying the past in order to measure the present and gauge the future." To such, slavery is not natural and its taste never sweet, however artfully it may be gilded. Education and freedom of thought are the enemies of tyrants. It is the interest of the tyrant to enervate the people rather than enlighten them, and it is the tendency of the subjects of a tyrant to lose all the masculine virtues of natural freedom. Long live the king, cry the people, in return for the spectacles, free dinners, and largesses of the tyrant. They bless Tiberius and Nero for their liberality, and forget that they are being bribed with their own substance, and will be called on to-morrow to surrender their property in order to satisfy the avarice, their children to gratify the passions, of these magnanimous emperors. Credulity grows with effeminacy, and the tyranny of kings is invested with the miraculous by the ignorance of the mass. The people themselves help to give currency to the lies they believe, for the profit of the monarch. Moreover, the tyrant finds ready adjuncts in the passions, the avarice, the egotism of many of his subjects, who find their advantage in his service and their own slavery.

From all which, it is evident that this ardent youth, who pours forth the outraged feelings of a high and generous spirit, gives expression to what many sage men have uttered in less feverish language, and what every independent soul, not enslaved by convention, feels in the presence of the arrogance of individual power. It is refreshing reading even now, when the arrogance if not the tyranny of individual power is not altogether unknown in high places at times; and there must have been many in that crushed, bleeding Bordeaux to whom

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it would have been welcome and, in some sort, comforting reading, had La Boëtie only had the courage to send it to the printer. It was written in 1548; it was not published until 1578, long after its author's decease, for the promise of a brilliant career was cut short by a premature death. His death was the great sorrow of Montaigne's life. The friendship of these two men is a singular fact. There is a vast contrast between the passionate enthusiast for liberty, justice, equality, and the sceptical egoist, who was one of the greatest essayists, but assuredly no ardent theorist or reformer. It is impossible to imagine Montaigne growing enthusiastic for an idea, if the idea involved the slightest disturbance of his surroundings. How much less enthusiastic for a revolution. How he must have smiled sardonically and shrugged his shoulders at this passionate protest against the course of things! And yet the author of the "Discourse on Voluntary Servitude" was the most sympathetic man that Montaigne had met, the man whose death he mourned to the end of his days. Strange and subtle affinity of contraries, whose attraction he has touchingly expressed. "It was because it was he; it was because it was I." Otherwise, Montaigne had no love of theorists, eschewed politics, and had a horror of revolutions as equally ruinous to the State and to their authors. He was a staunch royalist, though not a courtier, condemned in fact courtly arts as incompatible with independence and honesty. He would have liberty to think and write, and was a forerunner of Descartes in advocating independence of thought. Take nothing on trust, but form an independent judgment, was with him a maxim. Nature was for him, as for La Boëtie and Rousseau, the great teacher. "The great world is the mirror in which we must look." Aristotle and mere bookish knowledge are of far less account than knowledge of men and things. Inquire of all men, and learn from the workman, the cowherd, the casual traveller. Learn, too, from history, and seek to know especially the reasons of events rather than the events themselves; not the place where Manlius died, but rather why it was a breach of duty for him to have died there. The faculty to judge historical fact is superior to the mere knowledge of such fact. The grand aim of education is to enable the pupil "to taste, choose, and discriminate things for

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himself, sometimes opening the way for him, sometimes leaving him to open it for himself." Evidently, the author of "Emile" owed much to the author of the Essays. Montaigne was the apostle of intellectual progress by free self-development, untrammelled by tradition in religion, education, philosophy; and there was, after all, ample room for close affinity between him and his friend. Nevertheless, in politics he was staunchly conservative—a phenomenon illustrated in the case of other progressive thinkers besides Montaigne. "In public affairs there is no system so bad, provided it be of long standing and firmly established, that is not better than change and alteration. . . . It is very easy to accuse a government of imperfection, for all things human are full of it; it is very easy to beget in any people a contempt for ancient ordinances; no man ever yet attempted it but he succeeded. But to set up a better constitution in place of that which has been destroyed, very many have foundered who have undertaken it." This is a cautious, but it is essentially a lazy judgment, and the modern world has happily not followed Montaigne as its mentor in things political. Can't you let it alone for fear of worse, is a poor political gospel for a world with so many wrongs to rectify, so many aspirations to satisfy. He was not in sympathy with either political or religious contention, for to him the principle of all this contention is wrong. People dispute from the spirit of contradiction rather than for the sake of truth. This is especially true of religious disputes, and to the red-hot controversialist of either side he would say, "Trouble not the world with your quarrels, especially not me, for you know little or nothing about the matter, and I would live in peace." There was no little common-sense in this view, and the warring theologians might have done well to pause in their rabid abuse of one another, and consider religion from a more philosophic point of view. Nevertheless, there was some measure of intellectual life, of the spirit of inquiry, even in these religious disputes, and, however much Montaigne might dislike the matter of them, he ought to have perceived the fact that this turmoil in the religious world might be at least the beginning of good by quickening the critical spirit, which was strong within himself. More especially ought he to have seen that the application of it to politics must have

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salutary effects for humanity, if only in view of the fact that his own countrymen were paying a terrible price, in corruption and misery, for their long habit of leaving politics in the hands of absolute kings and the mercenary tribe of place-hunters. But no; Montaigne was willing, for his own peace and that of mankind, that things should remain so, and left the world to make the best of it in resignation. Yet he was a revolutionist in spite of himself. The free self-development of the individual was incompatible with political stagnation, and the freethinker and the critic were destined to stir the world. Freedom from prejudice and from servility to tradition, of which Montaigne is the apostle—fruit of the intellectual Renascence, as we have observed—will yet produce some startling political results in France and elsewhere.

The freedom, which found in Montaigne its apostle, found in his contemporary, Etienne Dolet, its martyr. Dolet was born in the same year as Servetus (*i.e.*, 1509), whom he resembled to some extent in character, and whom, unfortunately, he anticipated by a few years as the victim of religious bigotry. He was the martyr scholar, as Servetus was the martyr scientist and Giordano Bruno the martyr philosopher of the Reformation age. A native of Orleans, he laid the foundation of his high reputation as a scholar at the University of Padua, the most famous school of letters and freethinking philosophy of the age, whither he resorted in 1527 and where he spent three years. Like Servetus, he devoted a couple of years—from 1532 to 1534—to the study of law at Toulouse, the palladium of mediæval orthodoxy at this period, where the Inquisition had stifled every reforming aspiration in its vice for three centuries. It was here that the troubles of a tragic life began. Toulouse was the worst possible environment for a man of Dolet's freethinking, pugnative, irritable temperament. Unlike Servetus, and like Montaigne, he cared little for theology, and felt little temptation to engage in the quarrels of rival theologians, though he associated with ardent young Protestants like Jean de Caturce, whom the Toulouse inquisitors burned during his residence at the university, and sympathised, intellectually at least, with the Protestant party as the party of progress. He was a scholar, not a religious reformer, and his contempt and hatred of the obscurantists,

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who strove to stem the tide of the new culture, was quickened into imprudent expression by an irrepressible tendency to speak his mind freely whenever an opponent crossed his path. From the period of his student days at Toulouse to the tragic finale on the Place Maubert at Paris his career was in truth one long polemic. He fearlessly shot the shafts of his sarcasm and his indignation against all and sundry who excited his scorn or his hatred. Now he is found belabouring some obscurantist pedant like the Syndic of the Sorbonne, Noel Béda, or the Inquisitor-General at Toulouse, Mathieu Orry; now pouring out a rich vocabulary of abuse, in the manner of the age, on Erasmus in defence of his divine Cicero; now defending himself, in equally choice Latin Billingsgate, against the scurrilities of Julius Cæsar Scaliger, whom he had offended by presuming to vindicate Cicero against Erasmus, after that paragon of scholarly vanity had already done so. Of many such encounters was he the hero in an age which scholars and men of letters made a hell for themselves by their quarrelsomeness, their vanity, their pettiness, their touchiness. The polemics of a Scaliger against a Dolet, of a Dolet against an Erasmus, of a Floridus against a Dolet, would have blistered the soul of Job himself. Personal vilification by rival scholars was simply a fine art, and Dolet was certainly as great a proficient in the art as any of the *genus irritabile* of his time. No men ever understood better the business of making enemies of those who should have been friends than these sixteenth-century scholars. Dolet seems to have been one of the most touchy, provocative, and impulsive of the learned fraternity of his day, but along with this failing he combined a courage and a downrightness of style, as the protagonist of liberty of thought against the persecuting obscurantists of the age, that entitle him to the admiration of posterity. Even Luther did not indulge in more forcible language in denouncing a persecuting hierarchy than did Dolet in vindicating intellectual freedom against the bigots of the Toulouse Inquisition and the Sorbonne. These prejudiced bigots had a trick of identifying the new learning with heresy, and under this flimsy pretext they succeeded in hounding Dolet out of Toulouse. Before he went he gave vent, in an oration to his fellow-students, to a passionate out-

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burst on behalf of freedom of thought which must have seemed madly daring in a city where the inquisitor-general reigned supreme. Here is a quotation from it, as translated by Mr Christie, his admirable English biographer. "None of you are ignorant that the new doctrines concerning the Christian religion which Luther has, for some time past, been putting forward have caused great heartburnings, and that they are only approved by certain turbulent and impiously curious persons; but you also know, when any one shows signs of genius and of an intellectual superiority over his fellows, he is forthwith suspected by men of a bigoted and depraved mind of the Lutheran heresy, and is made to experience all that hatred which this accusation gives rise to. But whenever the Toulousan furies have obtained this handle with which to pour forth their boundless hatred against the learned and the studious, how many men of illustrious reputation for learning or talent have they not striven to destroy! Who has ever known them give their vote for the acquittal of any learned man? I already seem to hear these calumniators gnashing their teeth at this utterance of mine and wretchedly planning my condemnation. I seem to hear them charging even me with being a Lutheran, . . . but . . . I most earnestly and vehemently declare, and beg you all to believe, that I am not in any way a follower of that impious and obstinate sect. . . .

"But what is the reason that cruelty is the delight of Toulouse? That this city is so imbued with savage tastes as to take no pleasure in anything except what is removed from, nay, most opposed to all semblance of humanity, and which cannot even be reconciled with justice? You have lately seen one, whose name I forbear to mention (Caturce), burned to death in this city. His body has been destroyed, but his memory is still being consumed by the raging flames of hatred. He may have spoken at times rashly and presumptuously, at other times intemperately; he may even have acted at one time in such a manner as to deserve the punishment due to heresy. Yet, when inclined to repent, ought the way of salvation for both body and soul to have been closed against him? Do we not all know that any man may err, or for a time fall away from the truth, but that only the utterly bad persevere in their errors? When once the clouds that overshadowed his

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mind had been dissipated, was there no possibility that it might again shine forth with a clear light? Why, when he was striving to emerge from the depths and whirlpools in which he had been overwhelmed, and to reach some good and safe haven, did not all with one consent help to throw out a cable so as to afford him the possibility of reaching a safe anchorage? His last words were to appeal from the sentence of the archbishop and from the decree of the Parliament, and who would deny that such an appeal ought to have been received? Yet his willingness to return from his wanderings into the right path availed him nothing, nor was any change of opinion—which is usually allowed as a means of retreat to a penitent—able to preserve his life from the brutality of his enemies. Toulouse, as usual, careless of humanity and culture (of which it never was a partaker), satiated its love of cruelty by wounding and destroying him. It filled its mind and feasted its eyes with his tortures and his death. Preposterously and absurdly puffed up by the pretence that it has acted in accordance with duty and has vigorously maintained the dignity of our religion, it has really acted with the greatest injustice. It has persecuted so severely and cruelly those who have fallen under suspicion for some trifling error, or who have been altogether falsely charged with the crime of heresy, that they have been impelled by their tortures utterly to deny Christ, instead of being led gently to repentance. In short, every one who rightly considers these things will come to the conclusion that at Toulouse more than anywhere law and right keep silence, while violence, hatred, and the denial of justice prevail. And as the city so ridiculously arrogates to itself a very high reputation for sound and faithful belief, and claims and wishes to be considered as the light and ornament of the Christian religion, let us for a moment consider whether there are any just grounds in which this claim can be supported. . . . I appeal to your own personal testimony, and I am certain that you will readily agree with me that Toulouse has not yet acquired even the rudiments of Christianity, but is given over to superstitions worthy only of the Turks; for what else is that ceremony which takes place every year on the Feast of St George, when horses are introduced into the Church of St Estienne, and made to go round it nine times, at the same

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time that solemn offerings are made with a view of insuring the horses' health? What else is that ceremony of throwing a cross on a certain day into the Garonne, as if for propitiating Eridanus or Danubius, Nilus, or even old Father Oceanus himself, and inducing the waters of the river to flow in a calm and smooth course without overflowing its banks and so causing an inundation? What is it but superstition, in the drought of summer and when rain is wanted, to cause the rotten trunks of certain statues to be carried about the streets by boys? Yet this city, so ill instructed in the faith of Christ, pretends to impose its notions of Christianity upon all men, to regulate all religious matters according to its will, and to insult with the name of heretic every one who follows the commands of Christ with more freedom and according to their spirit, as though he had fallen away from the integrity and soundness of the faith."

Again, when the bigots of the Sorbonne had succeeded in in 1534-35 in capturing the fickle Francis I. and in getting an edict issued absolutely prohibiting the art of printing in France—an edict happily not put in execution—Dolet hesitated not to lash their stupidity and their bigotry with his ire and his scorn. "I cannot," he wrote in the first volume of his "Commentaries on the Latin Language," "pass over in silence the wickedness of those wretches, who, planning destruction to literature as to men of letters, thought in our time of destroying and putting an end to the exercise of the art of printing. Thought, do I say? Who actually used all their influence with the King of France, Francis of Valois himself, the guardian, the supporter, the most loving promoter of literature and of men of letters, to obtain a decree for its suppression. They used this pretext that literature was the means of propagating the Lutheran heresy, and that to this, typography was made subservient. Ridiculous race of fools! As if arms were by themselves evil or destructive, and as if, because wounds and even death are inflicted by them, the use of those arms by which the good defend both themselves and their country from attacks ought to be suppressed; it is only the wicked who use them for unjust purposes. So if there are those who, foolishly over-curious or factious, disseminate some error or other by means of the press, who is there who,

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by reason of their fault, would say that printing ought to be suppressed; printing, which is of itself nothing less than pernicious, and is more essential than anything else for celebrating the glory and reputation of men?

"This most abominable and wicked plot of the sophists and topers of the Sorbonne was brought to nought by the wisdom and prudence of Guillaume Budé, the light of his age, and Jean du Bellay, bishop of Paris, a man equally distinguished by his rank and his worth."

Such outspoken denunciation of the bigots in authority was exceedingly daring. And they were dangerously imprudent, especially as Francis I. forfeited more and more, in the latter half of his reign, the title of promoter for that of proscriber of literature, as M. Crapelet has well said. Dolet, who settled at Lyons in 1535 and combined the business of printer with his literary activity, was henceforth a marked man. The inquisitors of Toulouse and the bigots of the Sorbonne and the Parliament of Paris were only waiting for an opportunity to destroy him, and their victim was not the man to abstain from further provocation. He continued to inveigh against "the barbarians," as he dubbed the antagonists of the new culture, and he aggravated the offences of his pen by printing the heretical books of others, including an unauthorised and unexpurged edition of the "Gargantua" and the "Pantagruel" of Rabelais, the New Testament in French, and a work of the martyred Louis Berquin. Accordingly, in 1542, at the instigation of Mathieu Orry, the inquisitor-general of Toulouse, he was arrested, tried on a charge of writing and printing books containing heretical matter, found guilty in spite of his disclaimers of heterodoxy, and delivered over to the secular arm to die the death of a heretic. From this sentence he appealed to the Parliament of Paris, and was only saved from the Parliament's hostility by the intervention of Francis himself, who evoked the case to the Privy Council, and ultimately pardoned and absolved him from further persecution (June 1543). His enemies were not to be baulked, however, and six months later (January 1544) he was again arrested and imprisoned at Lyons on a false charge of sending a consignment of heretical books to Paris. By a clever ruse he succeeded in escaping to Piedmont, returned clandestinely

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to Lyons, was arrested once more, probably at Troyes, and finally, after a vain appeal to the royal protection, convicted by the First President of the Parliament of Paris, the bigoted Lizet, of blasphemy and sedition, and hanged in the Place Maubert on the 3rd August 1546. His dead body was consumed to ashes, along with his books, by the burning faggots beneath the scaffold.

That he was an atheist was a calumny of his enemies. These were the real atheists of the age, whose intolerant, savage Deity was the negation of the God of love and mercy, in whom Dolet's writings amply show that he believed, even if at times he may have had his doubts as to the immortality of the soul. He was at most a freethinker in an age when to think freely was to incur certain death by all who had not the prudence of a Rabelais or a Montaigne to keep their thoughts to themselves or disguise them in a passably orthodox form. "God forbid," says Pantagruel in reference to the burning of Caturce at Toulouse, "that I should die this death, for I am by nature dry enough already without being heated any further."

Throughout the reign of Henry II. the Protestants had refrained from active rebellion, such as La Boëtie preached and the peasants of Guienne exemplified. To suffer, not to fight, for the faith, was the spirit that made the martyrs of French Protestantism. With the accession of Henry's weakly successor, Francis II., the spirit of passive gave place to the spirit of active resistance. In the year of Henry's death, heresy, which repression had only recruited, concentrated its strength in a regular ecclesiastical organisation. In its profession of faith this French Protestant Church, in the spirit of Calvin, recognised as a general principle the duty of absolute submission to the civil authority. It qualified this principle, however, by the pregnant clause, "Provided the sovereignty, conferred by God, remains in its entirety." It sounds almost like an ultimatum, and it is evident that if Francis persisted in ignoring the petition presented by the Synod on behalf of its persecuted brethren, the more resolute spirits would no longer be content to vindicate conscience by passive resistance (December 1559). The burning of Anne du Bourg, their intrepid champion in the Parliament, was the answer of

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the Guises, Duke Francis and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the uncles of Francis' young queen, Mary of Scots, who were now supreme. The opposition, on personal grounds, of a large number of influential malcontents to the *régime* of the Guises, notably of the Prince of Condé, whom they slighted, encouraged the men of action in their determination to retaliate. The hesitation of others was dispelled by the opinion of the theologians and jurists, whom they consulted, that they were entitled, under the leadership of a prince of the blood, to resort to force in order to vindicate the royal authority from the Guise tyranny. Hence the conspiracy of Amboise, in which political and religious motives combined to precipitate the forward party under Condé and La Renaudie on the path of active resistance. The conspirators should seize the castle of Blois and compel Francis to summon the States-General and substitute the Bourbons for the Guises as his ministers, on penalty of deposition for refusal. Coligny was not yet prepared to go the length of conspiracy and revolt, and counselled negotiation. His wisdom was proved by the event. The plot was discovered; the Guises took measures betimes to frustrate it, and when the conspirators appeared before the castle of Amboise, whither the court had removed, they were surprised and butchered, captured and hanged, decapitated, drowned in the Loire, dragged at horses' tails without mercy. The ascendency of the duke and the cardinal seemed assured; the policy of coercion, which the scare of conspiracy had temporarily checked, was renewed, though somewhat less virulently (Edict of Romorantin, May 1560); the King of Navarre submitted, and Condé was arrested and condemned at Orleans. The rebellious spirit, nevertheless, continued active, and forced the Guises to summon the States-General to Orleans to consider the reform of the kingdom.

The States-General met on the 13th December 1560. A week earlier the sickly young monarch died, and power slipped from the hands of the duke and the cardinal into those of his mother, Catherine de Medici, virtual, if not titular, regent for her second son, Charles IX. Had Francis lived a week longer, the head of Condé, whose execution was fixed for the 10th December, would have rolled on the block.

Catherine was more a politician than a bigot, and adopted

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the policy of balancing the two parties and their leaders, the Guises and the Bourbons. In this policy she was supported by the chancellor, Michel de L'Hôpital, and by the majority of the States-General. "Discard these diabolic words Lutherans, Huguenots, Papists," exhorted L'Hôpital in his opening address to the assembled deputies. "Let us not change the name of Christians." Toleration was, however, subordinate to the absolute authority of the crown, for L'Hôpital emphasised the divine right of kings, and denounced resistance, even on conscientious grounds, as a crime against the royal majesty. The Estates were, however, not disposed to accept this high doctrine, and pitted against it the old claim to a share in government and legislation. Among other reforms, they insisted on their regular convocation every four years, and refused a subsidy on the plea that they had no power to grant taxes without the express authorisation of their constituents. On reassembling at Pontoise in the following August, after a prorogation for this purpose, the twenty-six deputies of the nobility and the Third Estate proved still more aggressive. They revived the claim of 1484 to a share of the sovereign power on behalf of the Estates, and not only declared the patrimony of the Church national property, but proposed to sell a portion of it for the liquidation of the national debt, and demanded toleration for Protestants and the convocation of a Council for the settlement of the religious question in accordance with Scripture alone. Thus the long interval of misgovernment and religious persecution, under the auspices of absolute monarchy, had, since the last meeting of the Estates, produced a reaction which threatened the usurpations of the crown as well as the supremacy of the Church. The atmosphere was now charged with the revolutionary spirit, and though the Estates were dismissed without the chance of enforcing their revolutionary demands, the revolutionary spirit, which both political and religious grievances had nurtured, had evidently taken possession of a considerable part of the nation. The docility of the French is the fact that strikes the Venetian ambassadors of the first half of the sixteenth century; their restiveness, their proneness to agitation, is the fact that strikes those of the second half. "It is a strange epoch this," muses Gio. Correro

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in 1569, "every one presumes much of himself; whatever he imagines, he boldly demands, and if he does not obtain it at once he sets up a great clamour." Authority is disputed, resisted, attacked, overthrown. The sceptre is no longer the emblem of power, of reverent obedience. The monarch seems to exist on sufferance. The universal license of thought and action is to some extent due to the fact that the king, the government is weak; it is also due to the genius of Protestantism, which has awakened conscience and quickened the sense of right. Nay, according to the ambassador, it has affected the national character. "The people of France has hitherto been regarded as gentle and worth almost nothing for war, with the exception of the Gascons, who have always borne a martial reputation. At present it is not so. In this war of religion, which affects everybody, all France has taken arms, and blood flows in abundance. On this account they have become emboldened and courageous." The root of the evil lies, according to the same authority, in the fact that adequate repressive measures had not been taken from the beginning. Surely Francis I. had shed heretic blood enough, at any rate at Paris and in those Vaudois valleys? The ambassador is apparently not aware that conscience, and not force, is the true mistress of the world. Conscience, however, is, according to the apologists of absolute kings and traditional creeds, the monopoly of the established Church and the doctors of the Sorbonne and the Parliament. The Protestant is a heretic, and has no right to a conscience, so long as the Sorbonne and the Parliament are the arbiters of religious belief, and have the right and the power to burn him. This is the view, too, of partisan Romanist historians, who are never tired of abusing these rascally, perfidious "Lutherans," though they ought to know better by this time. It is a vain pretension, and means simply that what is orthodox according to pope and priest is eternal and immutable. Happily, this pretension has not succeeded in stifling religious and intellectual progress, based not on the impregnable rock of St Peter, but on the eternal rock of conviction. It did not succeed in France for nearly a century and a half at least; did not succeed ultimately either, for the Protestant was resolved to fight for his convictions, even against all the forces of both

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monarchy and Church; and the Protestant principle of individual right to think and worship untrammelled by tradition was to triumph in the end, triumph through revolution, in spite of long struggle and semi-triumphant repression. Its triumph was a triumph for humanity, though theological Protestantism might have been less intolerantly aggressive at times, and less unfaithful to its own spirit. But then it was at this stage war to the knife between two opposing systems, and certainly that system which acted on persecuting principles, wherever it got the chance, had no right to accuse the aggressive system of its opponents, which, at first at least, was compelled to fight and suffer for its existence.

The ominous fact in the presence of this insubordinate, self-assertive spirit was the weakness of the Government. Catherine de Medici was a woman of great intelligence, full of address, astute, unscrupulous, apt in business, averse to extremes. But she was a foreigner, and exposed to all the prejudice and opposition which her Italian birth excited. The King of Navarre, whom she made Lieutenant-General of the kingdom in place of the Duke of Guise, was a weak, vacillating councillor, and L'Hôpital's reforming ideas, though sagacious, proved impracticable. The Colloquy of Poissy failed to reconcile the Protestant and Catholic theologians. The Edict of St Germain (Jan. 1562), which virtually granted toleration, stirred the fanaticism of the bigots, who were led by the triumvirate—the Duke of Guise, the Constable Montmorency, and Marshal St André—to madness. Their madness burst out in the massacre by Guise's soldiers of a Huguenot congregation at Vassy in March 1562. This bloody outrage proclaimed that toleration was an impossible policy, if the bigots could help it. It was a challenge to fight thrown down by Catholic to Huguenot, and even Coligny, who had fought shy of the conspiracy of Amboise, no longer hesitated to take it up from a stern sense of duty. Others hastened to unsheathe the sword from personal and political motives. Among these was Condé, who, though by this time a confirmed Huguenot, hated Guise (who secured possession of the king and his mother and removed them from Fontainebleau to Paris), as a rival, and was resolved to assert his position in the State as a prince of the blood. A number

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of his noble followers were similarly actuated by mixed motives. The plunder of Church property was in France, as elsewhere, an especially alluring prospect to this class. But, even making allowance for the presence of self-interest, it would be shortsighted indeed to see, with the Venetian Correro, in such sordid motives, the motive force of the tremendous struggle that drenched France for fully thirty years with the blood of its own children. This long civil war was a war of great principles as well as of personal interests and party spirit. It was not merely the people, as Correro asserts, that fought for principle. Men like Coligny, Du Plessis-Murnay, and La Noue, stern fighters of Calvinist mould, drew the sword in the spirit of the crusader rather than of the politician. Such men were actuated by the intense religious conviction, the belligerent spirit of the age, and they were the true leaders of the Huguenot army. It was not the opportunist spirit that drew the Huguenot soldier from the plough or the workshop to the battlefield and made him the stern fighter he proved to be for God and conscience. Political and personal opportunism doubtless had its share in the conflict, but it was the sterner, self-sacrificing spirit of the martyr transferred to the battlefield that endured and fought on till it won for France the Edict of Nantes. And the opportunism was not all on one side. If a Condé was no exclusive battler for truth and righteousness, were the members of the triumvirate saints and disinterested patriots of the purest water, as their Romanist partisans assert and would have us believe? Partisan writers forget to remind us of the immorality and corruption rampant under the *régime* of Diana, the Constable, the Guises, St André, and the rest of them, in which neither Coligny nor Condé had any part.

The civil war inaugurated by the massacre of Vassy consisted of a series of campaigns interrupted by a series of truces and pacifications, which it is not our business to describe in detail. It was in verity a savage strife, and the appeal to God and religion on both sides renders its barbarity only more revolting to the modern mind. Leaders like Blaise de Monluc on the Catholic side, Baron des Adrets on that of the Huguenots, were terribly thorough and ruthless in the earlier period of it. Pillage, massacre, assassination, were legitimate

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methods of regaining the heretic for the true Church, of retaliating on the persecutor the cruelties which bigotry or tactics dictated. Large tracts of South-western and Central France were turned into a desert. Numerically the Huguenots constituted a small minority of the nation, and they had almost invariably the worst of it in the great pitched battles. Coligny and Condé were no match for Guise and Montmorency as generals. Condé was defeated at Dreux in 1562, all but defeated at St Denis in 1567, defeated again and shot at Jarnac in 1569. Coligny had no better success as a leader in the field, and sustained the most disastrous defeat of all at Montcontour, six months after the disaster at Jarnac. Three years later he fell, at Paris, a victim to the foul treachery of Catherine de Medici and the hatred of the Guises in the terrible St Bartholomew night, when, according to an eye-witness, "the streets were covered with dead bodies, the river stained, the doors and gates of the palace bespattered with blood." There were more defeats under their successors before the military genius of Henry of Navarre definitely turned the tide of disaster at Coutras in 1587. And yet the indomitable Huguenots fought on. They were great in defeat, and their stubborn intensity of perseverance succeeded in wresting from their opponents, time and again, reluctant edicts of pacification more or less favourable to their claims. They were aided by the development of events beyond the French frontier—by the struggle in the Netherlands that engrossed the attention of Philip of Spain, and prevented his active intervention in behalf of their enemies. They could reckon on the good offices and the grudging grants of Queen Elizabeth. Still more providential was the alliance of the Politiques, or moderate Catholics, who combined to enforce the policy of moderation after the massacre of St Bartholomew, and check the Catholic League.

The League, like the Huguenots, became a State within the State, and strove to gain its object even at the expense of allying itself with foreign princes—with Philip and the pope—as did the Huguenots with the English and the Dutch. The Leaguists renounced allegiance to Henry III. after his refusal to submit to its domination and that of the Catholic Parisian democracy, who, sure of the pope and the Church, barricaded

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the streets and drove him from the capital, and finally into the arms of Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots. It was one of their emissaries, the monk Jacques Clément, that stabbed him to death as the enemy of the people and the pope, while on the march, in alliance with Navarre, against the rebellious city.

The League thus in its own fashion developed democratic tendencies in its zeal for orthodoxy. It appealed to the States-General, and the States-General which met at Blois in October 1588 renewed the old claim to a share in government and legislation, proclaimed, in fact, the doctrine that the king derives his authority from them, and arrogated the right to depose him in case of illegal conduct. They went the length of setting up, in opposition to Navarre, a sort of Parliamentary king, of unquestioned orthodoxy, in the person of Cardinal Bourbon, after the assassination of Henry III. Navarre's generalship and his abjuration of his Huguenot creed wrecked this policy, and frustrated the egotistic schemes of its leader, the Duke of Mayenne. The last years of the struggle, which developed into a war with Spain, in alliance with England and Holland, witnessed the complete vindication of the monarchy and the ultimate union of France under the strong rule of Henry IV. The monarchy triumphed against the pseudo-democracy, which meant the domination of the priest and its factious leaders, who made it a pretext for the revival of feudalism in the spirit of their predecessors of the old *Ligue du Bien Publique* in the days of Louis XI.

But the triumph of the monarchy, if it brought a long quietus to the striving for constitutional government, was at least the triumph of the toleration for which the Huguenots contended. The Edict of Nantes (1598) was the practical outcome of the great struggle, and this "perpetual and irrevocable ordinance" gave liberty of conscience and of worship to the Huguenots. "In order not to leave any occasion of trouble and dispute among our subjects, we have permitted and permit to those of the pretended reformed religion to live and dwell in all towns and places of this our kingdom and country of our obedience (where the Protestant worship was in vogue previous to 1598, with the exception of Paris and five

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leagues around), without being persecuted, harassed, molested, or constrained in any way on account of religion against their conscience." This paragraph, which formed the preamble to the guarantee of civil and religious rights in the most explicit terms, was well worth these thirty-five years of terrible bloodshed. The edict more particularly declared Protestants eligible for all public offices, and instituted special courts in several of the Parliaments, whose members were composed of an equal number of Protestants and Catholics, for the administration of justice to litigants of the two creeds (*chambres miparties*). It guaranteed their admission to all schools, colleges, and hospitals, and granted permission to found such in all the towns where their worship was legalised. It even permitted them to retain the fortified places of which they were in possession, on condition, however, of desisting from all political intrigues, whether within or without the kingdom, or forming any league or association prejudicial to the royal authority and the terms of the edict. On no pretext were they to assemble in arms, or construct fortifications, or levy taxes for military purposes. The retention of the fortified towns was meant merely as a guarantee of good faith, not as a recognition of their political power; but while Henry might justly presume on his ability to maintain the peace, this concession left them an organisation which might, and did in fact, become, during his son's earlier reign, the nurse of faction and civil war. It was left to Richelieu to improve on this part of the edict by suppressing a political and military power dangerous to order, while respecting its principle. That principle was, of course, not that of toleration in the modern sense. It was not that of full toleration even for the Huguenots. They must, for instance, observe the Catholic festivals; their preachers and lecturers were not allowed the free expression of opinion in controversial matters; Protestant books might only be printed in Protestant towns. We should indeed greatly err if we mistook in Henry IV. the enlightened apostle of toleration pure and simple. The Edict of Nantes was the work of a politician, not of a philosopher in advance of his age. It sprang from no more profound views than those suggested by political necessity and the goodwill of the king towards his old comrades-in-arms and fellow-worshippers. Otherwise

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Henry acted in matters of faith as the conventional *bona fide* Catholic sovereign of the time, to whom Protestantism was error, which it was his duty to combat abroad, if not at home. While he interceded for the persecuted Catholics of England and Holland, he opposed the spread of Protestantism in Italy, where he acted the part of the champion of the Roman Church and the temporal power of the pope. He warned the pope and the Doge of Venice to be on their guard against the propagandism of Geneva. He identified himself completely with the interests of the Church to which he professed adhesion, while honourably resisting all pressure to encroach on the edict of toleration at home. His *rôle* as "the most Christian king" exacted the profession of an orthodoxy which would not admit any truckling to heresy outside the compulsory minimum. The day of the philosopher-king had not yet come in an age in which religious prejudice and passion were strong on either side. Conciliation could not venture beyond the Edict of Nantes, and even if Henry had desired to favour freedom of conscience as a principle of universal application, his official position as a Catholic sovereign would have rendered the attempt hopeless. It is all the more to his credit that he persistently refused to resile from his engagements to his former fellow-Protestants. He never forgot what he owed to the Huguenots, even when called on to play the part of a zealous Catholic. "I have been far too well served and assisted by them," said he, "in the days of my adversity, to yield on this point, and, besides, I should excite far more dangerous commotions in the State than in the past." And it should not be forgotten that the Edict of Nantes, with all its limitations, was a great achievement, considering the circumstances of the age. Henry achieved what it was impossible to attain in other countries, where either Catholicism or Protestantism was in the ascendant. He compelled the adherents of the two creeds to live in peace on fairly equitable terms. Protestants could publicly worship God, and even exercise the rights of citizenship in spite of their creed. This was a great step in advance of the narrow religious antagonisms which persecution had begotten. In England, Scotland, Germany, Holland, not to speak of Italy, Austria, Spain, this was impossible for many a long day. From this point of

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view, we may say that it was well that Henry had been a Protestant, well that he became a Catholic.

His tolerant policy embraced even the Jesuits, to whom the Parliament and the Sorbonne were as hostile as to the Huguenots. The Parliament attributed to their machinations, though without proof, Chatel's attempt on the king's life, and, in condemning the would-be assassin, condemned the order "as corrupters of youth, perturbers of the public peace, and enemies of the king and the State," and banished it the realm. It sent Père Guignard, the author of a manuscript work in which the king was bitterly reviled, to the gallows. Henry at this period shared their aversion, for the Jesuits had been the most implacable of his opponents, the abettors of Philip II., the sworn henchmen of the pope. For several years he steadfastly turned a deaf ear to the overtures for their rehabilitation. "As to the Jesuits," wrote he to the Duke of Luxemburg, "I replied to the legate ingenuously that if I had two lives I would willingly give one of them for the satisfaction of his Holiness in this matter, but, as I had only one, I owed it to my subjects to preserve it, for these zealots have shown themselves so fanatic and enterprising, while they remained in the kingdom, that they are intolerable. They never cease to seduce my subjects, to spin their intrigues, not so much for the purpose of conquering and converting the heretics as to establish their power within my realm, and to enrich themselves at the expense of everybody. I can truly say that my affairs have only prospered, and my person has only been in safety, since their banishment. It is impossible that they can be tolerated in France by those who love my life and quiet." This was a severe judgment, yet Henry lived to recall and even become the zealous patron of the Jesuits. He owed this singular rebound in favour of toleration and patronage to the influence of the astute Père Cotton. The edict of the 17th September 1603 annulled that of January 1595, on the express condition that the order should refrain from all intrigues against the king, and the peace of the kingdom, "without reservation or exception whatsoever." Even with this precaution, the Parliament strenuously opposed their readmission, and on the 24th December the First President, De Harlay, voicing its remonstrances, denounced the order as

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dangerous to both Church and State, as the sworn henchmen of the papacy, and therefore hostile to Gallican liberties, as the instruments of Spain and the League, and the advocates of regicide. France, he warned, would be the prey of innumerable evils from the nefarious machinations of these intriguing fathers. In reply, Henry magnanimously, but not too wisely, made light of the fears of the First President, and skilfully adduced all that could be said in favour of toleration. He defended them from the charge of ambition by pointing to their poverty and their refusal of ecclesiastical dignities. He could see in the antagonism of their ecclesiastical opponents only the antagonism between ignorance and learning. Were not their hardest critics the ecclesiastics of evil life? He refused to believe that they taught the doctrine of regicide. Because Chatel was a Jesuit, was it reasonable to believe that every Jesuit was a Chatel, that all the apostles were Judases because there was one Judas among the Twelve? He refused to believe, too, that they would sacrifice to the pope the allegiance they owed to their king. Certainly a great stretch of faith, considering their past attitude in things political. That, however, he added, was ancient history. They had believed that they were acting a right part, and, like others, they had deceived themselves. Toleration should be granted to every Frenchman willing to be a loyal subject, and this toleration he was resolved to enforce. "Leave this affair to me," he concluded; "I have managed others far more difficult, and think only of doing what I tell you."

No exception could be taken to the edict, if the conditions as to reservations were honestly observed. But was it possible for the militant order of the Church *par excellence* to refrain from troubling "the repose of the kingdom"? Could the recall of the Jesuits be anything but the revival of the League under another name? Could the Jesuits observe faith with the Huguenots, and refrain from plotting against them? Henry evidently believed so, but he as evidently did not know an order which absorbs the citizen in the ecclesiastic, and places Church and pope above State and king. He overlooked the fact that they were as much a political party as a religious order, doubly dangerous, because they knew how to cloak political aims with religious pretences; and if it was dubious

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policy to conserve the political power of the Huguenots, in spite of stipulations to the contrary, it was equally dangerous to play into the hands of the greatest adepts in intrigue that the world has known. Political necessity might explain the concession to the Huguenots, whose experience had taught them that without more substantial guarantees than treaties their lives and liberties were not safe. It was a different thing in the case of an international order which was but another name for a vast fraternity, whose solidarity was unique, and whose aims were not hampered by national or even moral considerations. The sequel was to show that they were to abuse the toleration granted them by working for the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the establishment of an ecclesiastical tyranny which, however beneficial to the pope, was incompatible with the best interests of France.

SOURCES.—The gist of this chapter, with the exception of the section on Etienne Dolet, is taken from my book on The Growth and Decline of the French Monarchy (1902). The chief authorities on which I have drawn for the chapters of that work dealing with this subject are:—Isambert, Recueil Général des Anciennes Lois Françaises, tomes xi. to xiv.; Rélations des Ambassadeurs Vénétiens, edited by Tommaseo for the Documents Inédits; Commentaires de Blaise de Monluc, edited by A. de Ruble for the Société de l'Histoire de France; Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris, edited for ditto by L. Lalanne; Lettres de Marguérite D'Angoulême, edited for ditto by F. Genin; Brantôme, Vies des Grands Capitaines, edited for ditto by Lalanne; Archives Curieuses, edited by Cimber and Danjou, tomes ii., iii., vii., and xi.; Journal de Louise de Savoy, in Petitot's Collection des Mémoires, t. xvii.; Mémoires de Tavannes in ditto, tome xxiii.; Mémoires de Vielleville in ditto, tome xxvi.; Histoire Ecclesiastique des Églises Réformées, erroneously ascribed to Theod. Beza; De Thou, Hist. sui Temporis; La Böetie, Discours sur la Servitude Volontaire (Bibliothèque Nationale); Montaigne's Essays, and the Life by M. de Stapfer in the Grands Ecrivains Français; Nisard, Histoire de la Litérature Française, t. i.; Christie, Etienne Dolet; De Maulde La Clavière, Origines de la Révolution Française au Commencement du XVI^me^ Siècle;

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Paulin Paris, Études sur François Premier; Monty, Réformateurs et Jésuites; Négociations, Lettres, et Pièces Diverses rélatives au Règne de François II., edited for the Documents Inédits by L. Paris; Lettres de Catherine de Medici, edited for ditto by M. de la Ferrière; Mémoires de Claude de Haton, edited for ditto by M. Bourguelot; Lettres, Missives de Henri IV., edited for ditto by Xivrey; Le Duc d'Aumale, Histoire des Princes de Condé; Baird, History of the Rise of Huguenots; Thierry, Essai sur l'Histoire du Tiers État; Comte de la Ferrière, Le XVI^me^ Siècle et les Valois; Lettres Inédites du Cardinal D'Armagnac in Revue Historique, ii.; Vicomte de Meaux, Les Luttes Réligieuses en France au XVI^me^ Siècle; Baudrillart, Bodin et son Temps; Buet, François de Lorraine; Count Jules de Laborde, Gaspard de Coligny.

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CHAPTER VIII.

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN FRANCE AS INFLUENCED BY THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

OTHER great principles, besides liberty of conscience, found expression in the controversial literature of the period, if not in the statute book. The long struggle desolated France, but it excited political as well as theological discussion, and fructified the French intellect. The age was indeed remarkably fertile in political theories, fruit of the tremendous ferment of the national mind. Religious persecution was the nurse of political liberty. Persecution led men to question the right of the persecutor to oppress them. The Protestant had begun by denying the power of the pope; he ended by challenging the power of the king, in those countries at least where the civil power showed itself hostile to his creed. The Protestant soon learned in the hard school of persecution to outrun Luther and Calvin, and throw to the winds the doctrines of divine right and absolute submission. In France, Holland, Scotland, in particular, he was driven to modify, sometimes flatly to contradict, the servile views of the earlier reformers, to emphasise anew the old doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, to strengthen it by new arguments, as against that of a persecuting monarch. Conscience postulated political as well as moral liberty. It could not in practice endorse Calvin's doctrine of the consistence of political servitude with Christian liberty. Partly on historical, partly on theoretic, partly on religious grounds, the dogma of absolute monarchy was subjected to the test of criticism, weighed in the balance and found wanting. It was no longer the great battle, Kaiser *versus* Pope, and *vice versâ*, that was being waged between the contending theologians and jurists. The war was directed by the Protestant scribes against both king and pope. Neither prince nor priest, urged these

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strenuous protagonists of the Reformation, has a right to coerce men by fire or sword, or even by edict, to conformity to any traditional system, deemed incompatible with the testimony of Scripture and conscience. This was a distinct advance on the old mediæval conflict of pope against emperor, though, owing to the narrowness of the Protestant champions, it was but the beginning of an advance which was to induce far larger results for liberty of thought and conscience than they could foresee or appreciate.

It is hardly possible to overestimate the service rendered even to political liberty by these Protestant opponents of power arbitrarily exercised. The Reformation, if it had broken the power of the pope, had contributed to enhance that of the prince. In England, France, Spain, Germany, the prince was all powerful. Feudal anarchy had gone down with the proud feudal magnates who had been taught the virtue of obedience to the central power represented by, embodied, in the crown. Great nations had been evolved out of mediæval chaos, whose strength was concentrated in the monarchs who governed them. The pendulum had swung from the extreme of the absolute pope to that of the absolute king, and Europe was threatened with an inroad of princely despotism against which no barrier seemed left. Happily, the militant Protestant supplied the barrier, and in the militant Protestant who both fought on the field and argued in the study against the unlimited power of the prince over the consciences of his subjects, political as well as religious liberty found a potent champion. Such men as Hotman and Languet rendered humanity the priceless service of striving by their writings to stem the tide that had set in towards the universal despotism of the absolute king; and if they did not completely succeed in France, their writings contributed to inspire the champions of freedom in other lands, not merely to write revolutionary books but to achieve revolutions.

The historic tendency is represented by Francis Hotman, a learned jurist and an ardent Protestant, whom the Massacre of St Bartholomew finally drove from his country into exile at Geneva. Here, in 1573, he wrote his most celebrated treatise, the "Franco-Gallia," which, if insufficiently critical, is at least an attempt to apply the historic method in order to

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show that absolute monarchy has no foundation in mediæval French history.

The kings of ancient Gaul, according to Hotman, were not hereditary, but elective, and exercised no unlimited or arbitrary authority. They were no less subject to the people than the people were to them. The Romans deprived the Gauls of their liberty, but they did not succeed in killing the spirit of freedom. From this tyranny they were delivered by the Franks, German freemen who established the kingdom of Franco-Gallia. The Franks, like the ancient Gauls, elected their kings, who held the throne on certain conditions, and deposed them if they failed to fulfil these conditions. There was no certain rule of succession, the choice of the king depending on the will of the council of the people, though it usually elected a member of the royal family for the time being. In this council, annually convened, the supreme administrative power was lodged. Its modern representative is the States-General, and it combined, like them, the three elements of kingly, aristocratic, and popular government, in whose consort lies the harmony of the commonwealth. A most wise institution, for it is essential to liberty that the State should be governed by the authority and advice of those whose interests are so closely concerned, and who should therefore be careful to control the king's ministers. The council of the king tends to consult only the royal advantage; the council of the people, the advantage of the kingdom. For this purpose the council or parliament, *i.e.*, the Estates, of the nation met once a year, and every king who ignores this custom is a violator of the law of nations (Hotman holds that all States were anciently governed by a parliamentary council) and an enemy of human society. In those ancient days the king was not surrounded with the meretricious pomp which ministers to his vanity in these degenerate times, for he rode to the place of meeting in an ox-waggon; and only as the representative of the people, sitting on the golden throne in the midst of the assembly, was he the bearer of the royal majesty. How unlike these profane days of ours, when the king is styled your majesty, whether he sings, or dances, or trifles with his women. The authority of the council is supreme, and embraces all affairs of State—the election or

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deposition of the king, the declaration of peace or war, legislation, the disposal of honours, commands, offices, &c. But was not Pepin created king by Pope Zacharias? No, returned Hotman. This is a lying story invented by Pope Gelasius, and repeated by the chroniclers. There is plenty of ancient testimonies to prove that Pepin was chosen by the council of the nation. This council retained its authority throughout the period of the Merovingian and Carolingian kings. It, and not the person who happens to be king, is the real source and possessor of the royal majesty or power.

Observe, he exhorts, the distinction between the king and the kingdom. The king is a single person, the kingdom is the whole body of the people, for whose sake he is instituted. The king is accidental, the kingdom is permanent. A people may exist without a king, but a king without a people is inconceivable. Though Hugh Capet obtained the kingship by arms and craft, and encroached on the right of the council of the nation to confer honours and jurisdiction—formerly temporary—by making the title of duke, earl, &c., perpetual, the power of the council nevertheless continued under the Capetian dynasty. Witness in particular the adjudication of the kingdom in 1328 to Philip of Valois, in preference to Edward III., and many other instances of the exercise of sovereign power in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The council, however, suffered in its jurisdiction and power by the establishment of the parliaments, whose privileges were gradually increased by the king in order to augment his own power and counteract that of the Estates. With the increase of parliaments litigation has increased, but liberty has suffered.

Some of Hotman's statements are not strictly historical, but this does not detract from the significance of the book as an assertion of the ancient rights of the people against the modern absolute king. It is, however, reactionary rather than revolutionary. It is an appeal to the past, and does not contemplate any advance on past constitutions. The democracy he had in his mind was evidently mediæval, not modern. At the same time it insists on the sovereignty of the people, as represented by the States-General at least, and it does so in language that is both dogmatic and uncompromising. It fails

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to take into account the progress represented by the growth of the monarchy in the struggle with feudal anarchy. It ignores the fact that the growth of the monarchy was, to some extent at least, the vindication of the rights of the people as against the *régime* of lawless force. The idea of constitutional government which it opposes to an absolute, oppressive, royal *régime* is, however, on the side of progress, considering the circumstances of the age in which it was written, and the influence of this idea on both Catholics and Protestants was immense, as is shown by the appeal to the States-General on both sides. The book passed through three editions in as many years. It created a sensation in learned circles, and, by means of a translation from the original Latin, in the wider circle of the nation as well. It continued to be read when the struggle that inspired it was over, and to nurture the democratic spirit of the eighteenth century even after the more scientific labours of Adrien de Valois, and especially of Fréret, had discredited many of its historical contentions.

Unlike Hotman, the author of the "Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos," who is supposed to have been Hubert Languet, bases his antagonism to absolute monarchy on scriptural and theoretic rather than on historic grounds. His reasoning turns on the doctrine of the contract, which he first brings into prominence in these modern times. From this point of view, his book, which was published in 1579 and translated into French two years later under the title "De la Puissance Légitime du Prince sur le Peuple," is of capital importance in the history of modern progressive political thought, apart from its significance in relation to the mighty controversies of the age. It inspired Hooker and Locke, and its influence may be traced in the declaration of the rights of the subject on which the Dutch Republic was founded. Unlike Locke, however, at a later time, the author, who adopted the pseudonym of Junius Brutus, appeals to this contract in the spirit of the theologian rather than of the philosopher. His method is to posit certain questions and answer them by the aid of Scripture as well as reason, and, incidentally, of history in general.

Question one: Are subjects bound to obey a king who commands what is contrary to the law of God? Our author

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unhesitatingly answers in the negative. Sovereignty over the conscience belongs to God alone. This sovereignty princes, calling themselves Christians, have usurped, and deem those who refuse to recognise this usurpation rebels. In this sense Christ and the apostles were rebels, and the flatterers of kings still teach them to overlook the distinction between God and Cæsar. But what saith Scripture? Scripture teaches that kings derive their authority from God, are His delegates or lieutenants, and that their power is limited by Him. He alone is absolute sovereign, and has never consented to share His absolute sovereignty with any mortal. Kings are His vassals, not the sharers of His sovereign power, and, as vassals, are invested with their jurisdiction on certain conditions. They are kings by covenant or contract, and this covenant or contract is, according to Scripture, which our author quotes incessantly, twofold: first, between God and the king and the people; secondly, between the people and the king. By the first, to which he limits consideration in the meantime, the people and the king undertake to obey and serve God, and are subject to punishment in case of contravention, as when the people made a covenant with Baal, and Saul declined from his obligations to serve Him. Even pagan kings have not escaped punishment for usurping the sovereign power reserved by God to Himself. And what holds of Jewish and even of pagan kings, holds of Christian princes who command what is contrary to God's law. They are on the same footing with rebellious vassals, and if so, who so mad as to deny that we should obey the sovereign Lord rather than the rebellious vassal? All who refuse this obedience are rebels, as much rebels as those who join a vassal in insurrection against his overlord.

Question two: May subjects resist a king who commands what is contrary to the law of God, and if so, by whom, how, and to what extent is resistance lawful? Once more, what saith Scripture? The covenant or contract is, he again insists, between God, the king, and the people. The people was a party to the transaction, it had authority to promise and keep promise; if not, the transaction would not have been a contract. Its participation, on the other hand, served to strengthen the contract, just as two or more warranters afford more security

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for the payment of a debt than one. The king and the people are bound to God for each other. *Ergo*, if the king forsake God, and the people strive not to win him from the evil of his ways, but connive at his sin, the people is guilty of his sin, and *vice versâ*. Resistance is thus involved in the contract. If the king may resist the people should the people forsake God, the people may equally resist the king if the king forsake God. To make a contract with the people as one of the parties, and yet doom the people to bondage to the king's will, is both unscriptural and illogical. There can be no contract with a slave. And God would not punish the people for the sins of the prince, if their negligence, connivance, or stupidity were not punishable according to contract. The people is the guardian of religion as well as the prince, and if the prince takes arms against the people for their adherence to their trust, the people may take arms against the prince.

But is the people not a beast with many heads and liable to many disorders? Were it not insane to give the direction of affairs to an unruly and unbridled multitude? True, but by the people our author understands the constituted representatives of the people, the magistrates, the States-General, whom it has substituted for itself to restrain encroachments on its sovereignty. For the people which establishes the king is superior to the king, and the principal persons of the kingdom may associate together as its representatives in resistance to tyranny. Nay, in the case in which the king persuades the majority to become idolaters, the minority led by the chief men—princes and magistrates—may resist the majority. Such a minority are not rebels, for there is a contract, not only between God and the king and the people but between the king and the people. By this second contract the people promised obedience only as far as the king ruled them justly, and if the king breaks faith with them he is the rebel. Where there is no justice there is no commonwealth, and resistance to what is unlawful is no rebellion. It does not, however, pertain to individuals to resist, for the covenant is not with individuals but with the people, and only the people, or those who represent it, are bound to observe its stipulations.

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Question three: May subjects resist a prince who oppresses the State? Our author unhesitatingly answers in the affirmative. God hath appointed kings, but it is the people who establishes them. Kings hold their sovereignty under God from the people. It is from God, but by the people and for the people that they reign. Let them not imagine that they are of higher race than other men. They are not lords of a flock of sheep or a herd of oxen. This, too, is attested by Scripture. The kingship in Israel was not hereditary, but elective. It is also attested by history. The Roman kings were elected, and though the elective origin of the kingship has been obscured by hereditary succession in more modern nations, it is still apparent in the fact that the heir to the crown is not, properly speaking, king till he has taken the coronation oath at the hands of the representatives of the people, as in Spain, France, England. These are as much kings by election as is the emperor, or the King of Bohemia. Kings, in a word, are created, not born. If the next heir is unworthy, the people may displace him by some other prince of the blood. The whole body of the people is superior to the king, for it is from the people that he derives his power. No usurpation can prejudice its right, or alienate liberty. Kings die, but the commonwealth is immortal. Its rights never die, and no modern king can claim more than his ancestors obtained. If he does he is a thief, and if the peers and chief officers of the kingdom have granted more, their action is treason to the people and does not justify tyranny, or legitimate the loss of liberty. A conspiracy of the magistrates to subject the people is as indefensible as the betrayal by a perfidious advocate of the interests of his client. There is one prescription which carries it above all others, viz., that the people be maintained in the enjoyment of their property and their liberty. Liberty is the privilege of nature, and no people would ever establish a king to rob it of this privilege. Kings were established to maintain justice, defend the State, and protect its members from outrage. The kingship is not an honour but a duty, a burden which consists in protecting the poor from the rich, and the nation from foreign enemies. This is the true secret of its origin, and all kings who pursue their own ends, not the interests of the people, are tyrants. It

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follows from this that the king is not above the law, but merely its administrator, and subject to it like the rest. To place the king above the law is to place a premium on human passions. Law is as necessary for a king as for a people. Beware of those court marmousites who make gods of kings, and bow down to their oracles, nay, will have it that justice is nothing in itself, but only what the king ordains. They forget that the king receives the laws as well as the crown from the people. He may not even make a new law without their consent and the co-operation of the Estates. He has not the power of life and death over his subjects as a master over his slaves; he may only, with the advice of sage lawyers, exercise the right of pardon in certain cases.

Other axioms need only be stated to be understood, though our author dips deep in his historic lore in order to elucidate them. The property of the people, equally with its liberty, as guaranteed by law, is inviolable. The king is not the owner of the kingdom. Such is a tyrant, not a king, and a tyrant is one who comes into possession by violence, or governs not according to law, and thus breaks the contract. The first is a tyrant without title, the second a tyrant by practice. The law of nature, the law of nations, the civil law, empower all to resist a tyrant without title, who is simply a robber, and the meanest person in the commonwealth may put the robber to death. Only if he acquire the right of possession, and the people acquiesce in this right, is he to be regarded as having established a title, and the people must then submit to his rule. In the case of tyrants by practice, more circumspection is necessary. Even if a king do not conform exactly to the laws, he is not to be forthwith proclaimed a tyrant. Absolutely perfect kings do not exist, and the subjects may account themselves happy if their kings are indifferently good. But if he purposely ruin the commonwealth, if he pervert the laws, if he break the contracts and proscribe his subjects, he is a tyrant and an enemy of both God and man. The more he is tolerated, the more intolerable does he become. The people, through its representatives, should first remonstrate and use persuasive means in order to turn him from his evil course; if persuasion fail, they ought to use force, and pursue him as a rebel against the sovereignty of the people. If a General

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Council may depose the pope, who claims to be king of kings, for his sins, much more may the States-General depose a king for his tyranny. And if the majority of the States-General concur in the royal tyranny, the true patriots in its ranks are entitled to save the commonwealth in spite of them.

Question four: May subjects call in the aid of foreign sovereigns for their deliverance from the irreligion or tyranny of the prince? Princes are ready enough to act on the principle of intervention for their political interests. Are they also entitled to intervene on religious and moral grounds? Certainly. The Church being one and universal, the protection of the Church is the duty of all Christian princes. Humanity, too, demands intervention. Virtue, as Cicero says, being the mother of mankind, enjoins every man to seek the good of the whole. Foreign princes may not, however, invade the territories of an irreligious tyrant for purposes of conquest, and by this reservation the author saves his patriotism, on paper at least.

We can well understand the sensational effect of this work. It systematised the political ideas of the Huguenots with great logical power and no little lore. It was at once an apology, a defence, and an attack. Hotman had sought to attain the same end by indirect means, by an historical rather than a logical exposition of the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. Languet shoots straight at the target. He argues, demonstrates, dogmatises, direct from reason, Scripture, and history, lays bare in the sight of king and people the fiction, the iniquity, of absolute rule. He has made use of the "Franco-Gallia," but he goes beyond it, beyond the history of ancient Gaul and Germany to the Jewish theocracy, and even at times beyond this to human nature, the basis of human right. His doctrine of the contract is especially noteworthy. In this respect he is the father of Hooker, Locke, and Rousseau. He emphasises all through the sovereignty of the people based on this contract, and the subordination of the king to the people. With this sovereignty is bound the right of Protestantism, not only to existence but to supremacy. In this respect he is intolerant and extreme, but he is at least logical from the Protestant standpoint, and the stress of the times may be allowed to mitigate his fierce logic. He is face to face with

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the enemy, and if he does not demolish the enemy, the enemy will demolish him. Though democratic on principle, he is, like Hotman, not revolutionary. His book is an appeal to ancient right on grounds of reason and Scripture, and, like Hotman, he would reform the State by its constitutional institutions. He is not anti-monarchic and republican, for he is careful to distinguish between good and bad kings, and even hazards the assertion that a good king represents in some sort the Divine Majesty. Yet the work teems with revolutionary dogmas, and it might, in part at least, equally with the "Contrat Social," have served as the handbook of the revolutionists of 1789, for it is an exposure of what seems to its author a vast usurpation by convention and self-interest, and a call to return to the original contract. Only with Languet the contract is theocratic, with Rousseau the contract will be purely democratic.

Languet and Hotman are Protestant champions. Yet they, or rather their doctrines, played into the hands of the Catholic League. The Leaguists borrowed their doctrines, and gave them an application suitable to themselves. The political tenets of the League afford a strange demonstration how the same premises may be twisted to support diametrically opposite conclusions. According to Languet, the prince may be resisted because he resists Protestantism; according to the League theorists, he may be resisted because he truckles to it. Languet posits the sovereignty of the people in order to condemn a persecuting Catholic king (Catholicism being idolatry). The Leaguists borrow from him the same doctrine, in order to condemn and depose a king who is supposed to be a traitor to Catholicism and a patron of heresy (Protestantism being damnable error). Languet exalts the power of the States-General as against an absolute king, in order to dethrone both king and pope; the Leaguists, in order to establish the papal supremacy. The one appeals from the king to the absolute lord of conscience (a noble appeal) in defence of the new creed; the other makes the same appeal in defence of the right to coerce the adherents of that creed. Strange medley of contradictory applications of the same principles; yet it does not occur to the zealots of either side whether it is not possible to tolerate each other in deference

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to that lord of conscience whom both invoke and whose will both misinterpret. The sovereignty of the people, founded on a narrow theocracy, becomes itself in such minds a tyranny, and in resisting this tyranny, whether Protestant or Catholic, even the absolute king might be the vindicator of true liberty. This bandying of principles was certainly not edifying. It shocked Montaigne, who can only describe it as "terrible impudence."

We are already acquainted with the political programme of the League. The reader will find its political theory in Dr Jean Boucher's "De Justa Henrici III. Abdicatione" (1591). Boucher is far inferior to the philosophic theorists of his Church, like Suarez and Bellarmin, who, however, are mere scholastic divines, and have little or no influence outside the pale of academic discussion. According to Dr Jean Boucher, then, the pope is king of kings, the successor of Gregory VII., who has the right to loose subjects from obedience to unworthy kings. For Jean Boucher the Renascence exists not. He is a benighted monk of the Middle Ages, for whom there is no progress, no liberty, outside the Church and its pope. Further, and this is taken from Languet, his mortal enemy, the sovereignty resides in the people. God is the source, but the people is the donor of the royal power, and has not abdicated its sovereignty in favour of the king. There is a contract, and the contract subsists. The people is its guardian, and, in the case of religious defection on the part of the king, the people has the right and the obligation to resist. Finally, the tyrant may be put to death, and, according to the nature and degree of his tyranny, the power of putting him to death rests with the public authority or with the individual. A tyrant who conquers a people may be put to death by a private person; a tyrant who becomes such by abusing legitimate authority against individuals, by the public authority; a tyrant who does so against the State, by either the one or the other. It remained for the Spanish Jesuit, Mariana, to go a step further and kill the tyrant by any means without distinction of the character of his tyranny, and give the divine blessing to the assassin, as Boucher does in the case of Jacques Clément.

In the writings of both Protestants and Leaguists the

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combative spirit is at boiling point. The Protestant not only contends for toleration, he challenges his opponent to mortal combat. To suffer Catholicism is to incur the guilt of conniving at idolatry. The Leaguist is still more aggressive and intolerant, since he represents the large majority, perhaps twelve to one, and this majority is unenlightened and fiercely conservative. Outside the Church there is no salvation, not even existence. Accept the pope, the saints, the mass, the whole body of mediæval tradition and superstition, or die and go to perdition, is the only alternative. Both are irreconcilable enemies, both are persecutors, but the stigma of persecution applies far more to the Leaguist than to the Protestant. Happily, however, in France the Protestant had not the chance of exemplifying his principles; to him was usually reserved the glory of being the martyr for his faith. Nor should it be forgotten that if the Protestant turned persecutor, he did so in antagonism to the root principle of Protestantism —liberty of conscience and a certain amount of intellectual independence. Unhappily for the reputation of his opponent, the Catholic had the power as well as the will to persecute.

Between Huguenot and Leaguist stood the Politiques, who contended that the majority is not always right, the minority not always wrong, and recognised the necessity of acting on this principle in the circumstances. It was the party of expediency, yet it was the party of the highest principle, because, in this world of ignorant prejudice and mental limitation, men cannot agree on the truth in religion, politics, philosophy, and should therefore agree to differ rather than fly at each other's throats. This party embraced adherents of both creeds—the moderate Catholics and the moderate Protestants, few but select, and important because of their character and their intelligence, important, too, because they were the men of the future. Both Leaguist and Protestant invoke the aid of the State in maintaining their tenets, both believe in the theocracy; to both, a government that will not enforce their nostrums is the enemy of God. The Politiques, on the other hand, separate conscience from creed, at least the public creed, and hold that the business of the government is to rule the State and not the conscience. Its exponents were Michel L'Hôpital, La Noue, and Jean

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Bodin. With the Catholic L'Hôpital in the "Traité de la Réformation de la Justice" we live in the abstract, and yet it is the abstract applied to the real, the abstractions of the practical statesman, which are usually illusions to all but himself and the select few like himself. For L'Hôpital, reason is the great fact in the world. It is universal, and laws are its expressions, more or less varied according to race and circumstances. Force should only be the servant of reason, "all other force is bestial, reprobate, condemned of God and man." The prince who would wield absolute power over the subject is included in this condemnation. The power of the prince is based on justice, and force should only be the instrument of justice. To violate the conscience is to violate justice, and therefore the prince must accord liberty of conscience, refrain from becoming the aggressive champion of one cult by proscribing its rivals, and should protect all from persecution. Moreover, mildness will always achieve more than rigour. In the attempt to realise these principles L'Hôpital failed, for Machiavelli, not L'Hôpital, was the true mentor of Catherine de Medici, and the spirit of party was too strong for the legislator, who was a practical moral philosopher. His spirit sank under the shock of the Massacre of St Bartholomew, which he only survived a year. In his retirement he had recourse to his pen, that potent instrument of great statesmen out of office, in order to win adherents for his gospel of toleration, founded on reason ("But de la Guerre et de la Paix," 1570). Peace, he contended, is the result of compromise or victory. To conquer the Huguenots is impossible, or very difficult. You must either exterminate or tolerate them. The attempt to exterminate them would mean the endless protraction of civil war. But the wise physician seeks to heal the body, by gentle not by violent means, and the malady of the State can only be healed by justice and moderation. Though not a Protestant, he sympathised with the determination of the Huguenots to defend themselves from oppression. By compromising, the king will not suffer in his dignity, even if compelled to yield to those who have taken arms in self-defence, and the king is not justified in pushing his rights to the length of doing harm to the welfare of the State. His will, his right, is not arbitrary.

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And can that be called a capitulation which grants liberty of conscience—in other words, eschews the *régime* of force for that of reason?

The Protestant La Noue is, like the Catholic L'Hôpital, the friend of civil order based on toleration. For him, too (in the "Discours Politiques et Militaires," 1587), the worst enemy of both religion and civil order is the intolerant fanatic. Civil war renders men brutal and irreligious. Let them learn the feasibility of toleration from ancient Rome and modern Switzerland. Let them reform their lives and cease persecution. Charity is above creed, and those who persecute belie Christ, who suffered both the Samaritans, who were idolaters, and the Sadducees, who denied the immortality of the soul. All men are your neighbours whatever their creed, and ought to be treated as such. Leave off abusing the word heretic, which is but the pretext of your own prejudice. Make war on your own sins. You will have enough to do without troubling yourselves about those of other men. This is both common-sense and true religion. It is also an anticipation of John Locke.

The ideas of L'Hôpital and La Noue were also the ideas of Étienne Pasquier, the famous jurist, and author of "Recherches sur la France" (1561), and Pierre Pithou, one of the authors of the "Satyre Ménippée," both Catholics, and of the Protestants Du Plessis-Mornay and De Thou. They were the ideas of a still more celebrated man, who was the theorist of the Politiques, Jean Bodin, author of "La République," the greatest political philosopher, with the exception of Machiavelli, perhaps, in the long interval between Aristotle and Vico and Montesquieu.

In practical politics Bodin was inclined to opportunism, and is found for a time professing, from reasons of policy, adhesion to the League. Latterly he championed the cause of Henry IV., and had the satisfaction of witnessing the triumph of the cause of moderation before his death in 1596. Both theoretically, and latterly from reasons of expediency, he was the champion of an absolute monarchy. The strong monarch, who could restore and keep order in a spirit of justice between the warring factions of the day, had again become a necessity for disunited, desolated, anarchic France.

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It was in this spirit that he wrote the "République," the great work which the jurist combined with the philosopher to produce, and which appeared in 1576 in the vernacular, and afterwards in Latin. In regard to the question of sovereignty in general, he holds that the people may alienate it, may agree to make it over to a monarch, an aristocracy, a democracy, and that, having done so, it ceases to have control over it. Otherwise, it could not be sovereignty. The very idea of sovereignty involves the absence of limitations or conditions. The sovereign power of a State must be absolute, and if this power is invested in a monarch, no other body in the State has the right of control over him. He is as insistent on this point as Hobbes himself, who borrowed from him his doctrine of unconditional sovereignty. The people, in the case of the sovereignty of a single individual, to whom it may have made over the right to rule it, is no longer the depositary of the sovereign power, and this individual is neither accountable to the people nor bound by the law. He is absolute ruler. Moreover, there can be no such thing as a mixed constitution, a division of sovereignty. The sovereignty, if once alienated by the people, resides absolutely in the person or persons to whom it is given. It cannot be in the people and the monarch, or in the people and the aristocracy, or in all three at the same time. In other words, the State may be either monarchic, aristocratic, or democratic in form; it cannot be a mixture of these forms. It must be simple, must be one and indivisible. Otherwise, both sovereignty and subjection would, he thinks, be impossible. The sovereignty cannot be shared by the monarch and the States-General, as the pamphleteers, whether of the League or the Huguenot camp, assert. "They are guilty of the crime of Lèse Majesté who make the subjects the partner of the sovereign power." Such a State never, according to Bodin, existed, or can exist, and it could only exist to be destroyed by the conflict to which its various elements would give rise, and which could only end with the supremacy of king, or aristocracy, or democracy. Mixed States are reducible to one or other of these as far as the exercise of the sovereignty is concerned. While the form of the State, the government, may vary, the sovereignty must remain simple. Bodin anticipates Rousseau

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by nearly two hundred years in distinguishing between sovereignty and government. The sovereignty is permanent and unconditioned; the government temporary, variable. He is the father of the modern doctrine of the omnipotence of the State, but he unfortunately tended to identify this omnipotence with that of an absolute king.

Logically it may be so, but practically the development of modern constitutional States has shown not only that a mixed form of sovereignty, vested in king, lords, and commons, is possible, but that it may work very well. Bodin's is a philosophic, rather than an actual, State.

Proceeding to consider each of these forms separately, monarchies, he finds, may be of various kinds—royal or legitimate, seigneurial, and tyrannic—and he gives the preference to the first. Royal or legitimate monarchy is "that in which the subjects obey the laws of the monarch, and the monarch the laws of nature, and in which the subjects enjoy their natural liberties and the rights of property." It is a monarchy unlimited by the laws of the State, and yet limited by the natural rights of man. It is the monarchy by human, not by divine, right; for Bodin, like Machiavelli, is no theological dogmatist in politics. The king is independent of the laws, yet he is bound to observe them by the law of God and the law of nature. The monarchy is unlimited, but it must be legitimate. The monarch is not the universal proprietor. He must respect property, for it is not to be assumed that the sovereignty has been conferred for the purpose of despoiling the subject. The laws cannot, however, compel him to do so if he is otherwise minded, and there is no guarantee of property unless the subject may defend it on the ground of natural right. Bodin's legitimate king is, however, invested with every virtue that a good ruler should exemplify. "The law of the prince is necessarily made on the model of the law of God. It is the true feature of a royal monarchy that the prince render himself as clement and as amenable to the laws of nature as he desires his subjects to be obedient to him. He does so when he fears God, when he shows pity to the afflicted, and is prudent in his enterprises, bold in what he undertakes, modest in prosperity, content in adversity, true to his word, wise in his council, careful of his subjects, ready to

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aid his allies, terrible to his enemies, courteous towards men of quality, a terror to the evil-doer, and just towards all. If therefore the subjects obey the laws of the king, and the king those of nature, the law on the part of both will be mistress, or, as Pindar hath it, queen." Moreover, the legitimate monarch is not necessarily hereditary, though Bodin prefers hereditary succession. The prince is not born legitimate, he must become so by his good government. Justice is the grand test of legitimacy. This reasoning is very high-toned. There is one little drawback which has apparently escaped our author's attention. History has not proved it conclusive!

The seigneurial monarchy is defined as "that in which the prince becomes lord of both the property and the person of the subject by right of arms, and governs his subjects as the father of a family does his slaves." This is the primitive form of monarchy—conquest, not election, being, he thinks, the first origin of kings. It is the form that prevailed among the Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians. The durability of this kind of monarchy is an argument in its favour in his eyes. For the third kind, the tyrannic monarchy, he evinces the utmost detestation. "A monarchic tyranny is that in which the monarch, despising the laws of nature, abuses the persons of free men as slaves, and the goods of his subjects as his own." Severity, however, is not necessarily a mark of tyranny, and a monarch may practise harshness towards the rich and powerful of his subjects who oppress the poor, without being a tyrant. The real tyrant, the usurper, who violates the laws of God and nature, is worthy of death.

The aristocratic form of the State is "that in which the least part of the citizens govern the greater by sovereign authority," and thereby contrasts with "the popular or democratic form, in which the majority wields the sovereign power in the name of the whole."

When Bodin descends from the region of theory to that of the practical work of government, he shows a disposition to moderate his definition of monarchic sovereignty on grounds of utility. Sovereignty and government, it must be remembered, are two different things. What is inadmissible in reference to the sovereignty may be admissible and beneficial

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in reference to government. The most solid monarchy is that which is popularly governed. "Monarchy with popular government is the most assured of all monarchies." Accordingly, he finds a place in his monarchic State for the senate or parliament, which he defines as "the legitimate assembly of the councillors of State, whose office is to give advice to those who exercise the sovereign power in any republic." Such an institution is of eminent utility, and the prince does well to rule by the guidance of a wise senate. To promulgate edicts against its voice is to invite dislike to the laws and disrespect for the magistrates, and finally risk rebellion and the subversion of the State. The qualities requisite in the senate are age, experience, judiciousness, integrity, prudence. It ought not to be large, and ought to be impervious to the ambition of individuals and the factiousness of the populace. The States-General and the provincial Estates find in him a warm champion. Theoretically, the sovereign prince is under no necessity to consult the States-General. Such necessity would infringe his sovereign rights, and in this sense Bodin combats the contention of the Protestant and Catholic democrats, that the States-General are supreme in the State and superior to the monarch. In practice, however, he virtually gives away this cardinal reservation, and has to pay the penalty for making exaggerated statements by subsequently qualifying them or explaining them away. The nation, he admits, has the right to be consulted in affairs of State, and vote taxes as a safeguard against corruption and maladministration. Liberty of association ought also to be fostered in the form of trade gilds and corporations, as far as it is not inconsistent with the general interests of the State. All secret associations are, however, dangerous to public order, and therefore inadmissible, but religious sects should be tolerated, on the ground that intolerance is impolitic. Persecution only stiffens resistance.

A most interesting section deals with the subject of revolution, and with the question of the rise, grandeur, decay, and extinction of empires. A revolution, according to Bodin, is a displacement of the sovereignty, and may be voluntary or necessary, or may combine the elements of both. A necessary revolution may be natural or violent; a voluntary one is

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the easiest and the gentlest of all. Whatever its character, revolution is in certain cases desirable, because beneficial. Among the causes of revolution are the failure of the succession and the conflict of rival candidates for the sovereignty, the excessive poverty of the greater part of the people and the undue wealth of a few of the citizens, the unequal distribution of offices and honours, the ambition of governments, the retribution of injuries, the oppression of tyrants, the change of laws and religion, the reaction against a voluptuous prince. Monarchies, in his opinion, which he might have changed had he lived three centuries later, are less subject to revolution than democracies or aristocracies. This distinction it owes to the hereditary principle. The greatest danger to monarchic stability lies in the exactions and cruelties of the prince, while the chief menace to popular and aristocratic States is the placing of the military force under the control of one man. He is master of the State who is master of its forces. The popular State is the most exposed to revolution, and the main cause, in Bodin's eyes, is the spirit of change and the habit of discussion inherent in the people. Discussion is an enemy of stability. It did not occur to him to ask whether it might not be the surest guarantee of order. To let men speak and discuss as they list is still foreign to the genius of the sixteenth century, the Renascence and the Reformation notwithstanding. Democracy still seems identical with sedition. "The true bent of the people is to enjoy full liberty without bridle or restraint whatsoever, and established equality in goods, honours, &c., without any consideration for nobility, knowledge, or virtue." In an aristocratic State the chance of revolution is less, but such States are especially exposed to the factions of the nobles and the discontent of the people. It is the tendency of a monarchy to change into an aristocracy, and of both popular and aristocratic States to assume a monarchic form. No State, whatever its form, is safe from revolution; no State but in the course of time suffers change, and arrives at length at ruin. Revolutions are, however, preventable. The main thing is to apply the right remedy at the right time, avoiding extreme measures, unless the malady is extreme. Reform is thus vindicated as the grand safeguard of States, but it is reform of a very gradual kind, and takes no

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account of the legitimate aspirations of an oppressed people, groaning under the burden of convention and oppressive privilege, for a prompt remedy. Bodin has, indeed, like Burke after him, a nervous dread of innovation, and, while he admits it in regard to the laws, he only admits it in extreme cases in regard to political institutions. He is extremely cautious, while admitting the fact of progress by reform, and would now be regarded as an ultra-conservative. Among the reforms which he advises are the abolition of the venality of political and magisterial offices, the modification of the right of primogeniture, the diminution of the inequality in State and society. He demands an adequate system of public instruction, equality of taxation, protection, in the form of the augmentation of export dues on provisions, in order to increase the revenue and cheapen food, the increase of import dues in order to encourage manufactures, the reduction as far as possible of direct taxation, and the abolition of slavery. Reform to be salutary should learn from experience, and should take account of the differences of the constitution and national conditions of the various nations.

To conclude, Bodin is in theory an advocate of absolute monarchy; in practice he prefers a limited monarchy. Religious toleration, combined with political order, monarchic supremacy tempered by the States-General, are his solutions of the political problems of the age. He lived long enough to witness the triumph of monarchy in the victories of Henry IV. He was not spared to welcome the Edict of Nantes. Unfortunately for France, the triumph of the monarchy was not tempered by the limitations which he deemed indispensable to the well-being of the State—the exercise of a certain measure of popular control over the government. While the system vindicated by Henry IV. was to prove a boon in the hands of so enlightened a monarch, its development in those of his successors was to bring back the *régime* of oppression and intolerance, and thus pave the way for a future revolution, both necessary and violent.

The gist of this chapter, with some omissions and additions, is also taken from my book on The Growth and Decline of the French Monarchy (1902), for which the following

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Sources were used:—Hotman, Franco-Gallia; Life of François Hotman by M. Dareste, in the Revue Historique, t. i.; Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos, attributed to Hubert Languet; Boucher, De Justa Henrici III. Abdicatione; L'Hôpital, Traité de la Réformation de la Justice, and But de la Guerre et de la Paix; La Noue, Discours Politiques et Militaires; Étienne Pasquier, Recherches sur la France; Jean Bodin, Les six Livres de la République; Baudrillart, Bodin et son Temps; Janet, Histoire de la Science Politique.

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CHAPTER IX.

THE RISING OF THE COMMUNEROS IN SPAIN.

THE marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon at Valladolid on the 19th October 1469 was an event of capital importance for both the monarchy and people of Spain. It was the beginning of the end of faction and anarchy, and of constitutional development as well. But four years before (June 1465) the independent, factious spirit of the Castilian magnates had given expression to the widespread contempt for the government of the impotent Henry IV. in the drastic ceremony performed at Avila. The spectacle there presented is very significant of the low ebb to which respect for royalty had sunk in a country so soon to become the palladium of despotic rulers by the grace of God. On a platform erected on an eminence near the city was enthroned the effigy of the disreputable Henry, arrayed in black, and wearing the royal insignia—crown, sword, sceptre. Around the platform stood a vast crowd of spectators, representative of all classes, from noble to peasant, and from this assembly a herald advanced to recite the evil deeds of the royal effigy in black, and pronounce sentence of deposition. The execution of this sentence gave still more emphatic expression to the impatience of these factious malcontents at the *régime* of a king who had neglected to do their will, instead of his own. The Archbishop of Toledo followed the herald and plucked the crown from the head of the figure in black. The Marquess of Villena denuded it of the sceptre and threw it on the ground below. The effigy itself crashed after it, and was smashed by the crowd, while Henry's brother Alfonso took its place on the throne as actual king amid the applause of the people.

Henry IV., nevertheless, succeeded in maintaining his precarious kingship for ten years after this drastic display of

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disloyalty and defiance. The accession of his sister Isabella as Queen of Castile in 1474—five years, that is, after her marriage to young Ferdinand of Aragon—and that of her husband as King of Aragon in 1479, put a period to the *régime* of such puppet rulers in Spain. "From the day of the departure of the good Regent Ferdinand in 1412 to that of the Treaty of Lisbon in 1479," says Mr Burke, "the government (of Castile) may be characterised as anarchy, tempered by favouritism . . . the nobles of every degree and condition, with rare and remarkable exceptions, agreed only in oppressing the people and defying the authority of the crown." To energise the crown, it was necessary first of all to curb this turbulent Castilian nobility, and this policy Isabella and Ferdinand pursued with extraordinary success. "We shall take care," they bluntly replied to the remonstrances of some of these factious grandees, "not to imitate the example of Henry the Fourth, in becoming a tool in the hands of our nobility." They showed both the force and the prudence of the strong ruler, and the methods they adopted, though to some extent selfish and unconstitutional, had the merit of securing firm government and prosperity. To depress the nobles, they cultivated the commons, and when they had attained their ends by the aid of the Cortes they were strong enough to dispense with the direct co-operation of the middle class, and practically play the *rôle* of the autocrat. "The Third Estate," to quote Mr Burke again, "was treated with marked respect by the prudent Isabella, and the assembly of Toledo in 1480 is one of the most celebrated in the history of Castile. But this popular authority was not destined to be of long duration. The Catholic kings were essentially autocratic, and as soon as they had sufficiently humbled the power of the nobility the influence of the commons was suffered to become rapidly smaller, until at length, towards the end of the reign, the power and the independence of the Estates of the realm were greatly impaired. While the influence of the Cortes decayed, moreover, the worst and not the best qualities of the people themselves were developed by the autocratic bigotry of Isabella and the cruel avarice of Ferdinand; and the Castilians, as they gradually lost their freedom, became false, and covetous, and intolerant. It is a dark

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picture, but to paint it in brighter colours would be false to history."

The establishment of an effective police in the Santa Hermandad, or Brotherhood for the maintenance of order, the promulgation of countless pragmaticas, or royal ordinances, for the better administration of the kingdom, the codification of the laws and the reform of the administration of justice initiated by the Cortes of Toledo, the establishment of a strong military force, the limitation of the vast power of the Church, the augmentation of the royal revenue by the confiscation of the lands wrested from the crown, by the royal appropriation of the grandmastership of the rich and powerful military orders, and by the great development of trade and agriculture, were the more potent factors in the institution of the powerful centralised authority which made Spain the strong monarchy of the opening years of the sixteenth century. The conquest of Granada, by completing the fusion of Spanish territory, greatly enhanced this authority. Thus the evolution of its constitutional history resulted in Spain, as in France and Italy in the fifteenth century, in the triumph of the monarchic power at the expense of that of both nobles and commons.

In Spain, as in France, it was a salutary development in view of the abuses of faction and anarchy inherent in the old mediæval constitution. A strong centralised authority was indispensable to the maintenance of order and prosperity. Individual and class interests might suffer; the interest of the whole gained for the time being. The picture has, however, another side. The suppression of anarchy might and did prove, in the grasping hands of a Ferdinand, a Charles, a Philip, the specious pretext for the exercise of arbitrary power, might and did pave the way for a modern despotism, as withering in its effects as mediæval anarchy. To suppress freedom along with anarchy was to stunt the moral and material progress of the nation, to induce a condition of dead uniformity, impotence, equally fatal to the national development. The most nefarious fruit of this access of centralisation was the access of sanguinary bigotry, which effectively stifled freedom of thought and conscience in a country which, apart from the crusading spirit against the infidel, had not till then been con-

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spicuous for the acridity of its religious zeal. "It is remarkable," says Mr Prescott, "that a system so monstrous as that of the Inquisition, presenting the most effectual barrier, probably, that was ever opposed to the progress of knowledge, should have been revived at the close of the fifteenth century, when the light of civilisation was rapidly advancing over every part of Europe. It is more remarkable that it should have occurred in Spain, at this time under a government which had displayed great religious independence on more than one occasion, and which had paid uniform regard to the rights of its subjects, and pursued a generous policy in reference to their intellectual culture. Where, we are tempted to ask when we behold the persecution of an innocent, industrious people for the crime of adhesion to the faith of their ancestors, where was the charity which led the old Castilian to reverence valour and virtue in an infidel, though an enemy; where the chivalrous self-devotion which led an Aragonese monarch three centuries before to give away his life in defence of the persecuted sectaries of Provence; where the independent spirit which prompted the Castilian nobles, during the very last reign, to reject with scorn the proposed interference of the pope himself in their concerns, that they were now reduced to bow their necks to a few fanatic priests, the members of an order which, in Spain at least, was quite as conspicuous for ignorance as for intolerance? True, indeed, the Castilians, and the Aragonese subsequently still more, gave such evidence of their aversion to the institution that it can hardly be believed the clergy would have succeeded in fastening it upon them, had they not availed themselves of the popular prejudice against the Jews."

It was very ominous for the future that "the Catholic Kings," as Ferdinand and Isabella were called, used their enhanced powers in the service of religious persecution as directed by the Inquisition. Whilst the rest of Western Europe was being stirred by the reviving breath of a new age of intellectual and spiritual life, the power of the crown in Spain was allying itself with the power of the Church to asphyxiate this revived life, as hostile to orthodoxy and autocracy alike. The age of the new Spanish monarchy was, alas, the age of the revived Spanish Inquisition. "When an en-

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lightened Europe," remarks Mr Burke, "was devoted to the collection of ancient MSS., the Primate of Spain was burning them by tens of thousands in the public square at Granada. When the intelligent stranger was being welcomed in every other country of Christendom, the Queen of Castile was banishing every Moor from her dominions; when commerce was beginning to be considered the most important element in the prosperity of States, the Catholic sovereigns turned every man of business out of Spain. And in subsequent generations, when religious Protestantism was asserting itself in every country, and the political rights of the weak were coming to be recognised in every commonwealth, Spain appeared as the champion of the most sanguinary Catholicism in the least Catholic of her provinces in Northern Europe, and as the destroyer of millions of the gentlest of her own subject races in the New World. . . . During the whole of the critical period of the Renaissance, when every European State was growing and expanding in the light of new learning and new methods . . . Spain was surely riveting upon herself the chains of ignorance with a fervour and fury no less remarkable than that which was urging on the reformers and discoverers of neighbouring countries." Even the mediæval anarchist of noble birth could not have worked more mischief to the best interests of his country than a queen whose mentors in religious policy were a Torquemada, and other equally fanatic successors of St Dominic. This policy of merciless religious persecution, which embraced Christians as well as Jews and Moors, was part and parcel of the policy of the repression of political rights and liberties. It was not only religious zeal but political craft that urged an Isabella, a Ferdinand, a Charles, a Philip, on the fatal path of intolerance. On the one hand, persecution brought grist in plenty to the royal mill in the shape of the confiscated property of the heretic. On the other, the Inquisition was an effective check on political independence, criticism, opposition—a potent instrument of political unity. There was certainly strong inducement to support a tribunal which, during even the comparatively short period of Torquemada's *régime* as inquisitor-general of Castile and Aragon (1483-1498), mulcted about 100,000 persons of their property, burned fully 10,000, and

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tortured thousands more in expiation of their real or imputed heresy. The *régime* of those savage fanatics—brutes and blockheads in one—who knew neither mercy nor fairplay, was one of the fellest tyrannies ever hatched by the worst of all inhumanities—that which clothes itself in the garb of religion—and the association of the new Spanish monarchy with this monstrous tyranny for political as well as religious ends is an indelible stain on the reigns of Isabella and Ferdinand and their immediate successors. In the face of these facts we have only too good reason for the conclusion that anarchy was, after all, not so terrible a scourge for Aragon and Castile as this fell priestly fanaticism in alliance with monarchic autocracy. Materially as well as politically, the Inquisition was the curse of Spain.

It is difficult, in view of these things, to warm into admiration at the mention of the name of Isabella, though her contemporary, Guicciardini, extols her love of justice, her generosity, her frankness. For the false and grasping Ferdinand one can only feel unmitigated dislike. The forceful and effective government of the couple certainly contrasts favourably with the miserable *régime* of many of their predecessors, and its efficacy, from the political point of view, is proved by their foundation of the greatness of Spain as an European power. But the spirit of their government repels us. A king that is prone to falsity and rises no higher than the accomplished schemer; a queen that is strong-minded and active, and yet is governed by an obscurantist priest of the truculent type of a Torquemada, are not attractive personages. They might be great politicians; neither was a great ruler in the best sense. They might raise Spain to a prominent height as a great power; its worst enemy could not have done it more mischief in some vital respects.

Isabella had, indeed, many good traits as a woman and a ruler, and it must be remembered, in palliation of her bad traits, that she was wedded to a husband who was one of the historic trio of masters of political craft, unscrupulousness, and falsity, of which Alexander VI. and Louis XI. were worthy members. Her piety, her humility, and her love of justice are indubitable. Nevertheless, her approval of the savagery of a Torquemada has sullied her memory, even if we make

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allowance for the spirit of the age. In her religion she was the fanatic, not the woman, and the devilish oppression and cruelty of the Inquisition throws a melancholy light on the moral and intellectual qualities which her panegyrists extol so highly. These qualities in a woman make the horror of her doings all the more inexplicable and revolting. To follow with such frightful devoutness in the wake of a savage monk through an ocean of blood and woe to the goal of uniformity of religious belief and national unity, is, from the moral and intellectual standpoint, a strange index of the virtues of meekness, benevolence, justice, &c., which Mr Prescott, following the older eulogists, admires so enthusiastically in his heroine. "Her heart, indeed," writes Mr Prescott, "was filled with benevolence to all mankind." It was certainly quite a peculiar kind of benevolence that could calmly consign to torture, fine, confiscation, tens of thousands of Jews and Moors because both race and religion caused them to refuse to become Christian hypocrites, liars before their God, false to their conscience and their past. It is really extraordinary that the historian, who fills page after page of complimentary print, did not pause to ask himself how such statements accord with the bloody records of a tribunal for which Isabella was personally responsible. The woman who offered up thousands of her subjects at the smoke-begrimed and fire-begirt altars of the horrible Deity whom she served should have lived in the age of the Druids. She would have been in her right place in an age of crass barbarism.

Spain, or at least the better part of Spain, showed its appreciation of the system of Isabella and Ferdinand by attempting to undo it when it was too late. Under King Charles I., the Holy Roman Emperor usually known as Charles V., it made a desperate attempt at reaction, an attempt instinct with noble aspirations, if not in all respects progressive, and doomed to failure by its own inherent weaknesses rather than by the strength of its adversary. This attempt is known as the Rising of the Communeros, and, though the rising was inspired by the Flemish Charles' anti-national policy of governing his Spanish kingdom by his foreign favourites, it was at the same time, to judge from some of the demands of the insurgents, a reaction in favour of constitutional rights.

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The departure of the young king in May 1520 to assume the imperial crown, to which he had been elected the year before, threw all Castile into a ferment. Before leaving to be crowned emperor at Aix-la-Chapelle he had succeeded in extorting a subsidy from the Castilian Cortes at Corunna. Even before his departure, Toledo had given expression to its detestation of the new *régime* by a rising, and now Segovia, Zamora, Madrid, Guadalajara, Burgos, Valladolid, Alcala, Soria, Toro, Avila, Cuenca, sprang to arms to execute vengeance on their oppressors, and to hang, in some cases, the persons or the effigies of their too pliant deputies. Malcontent nobles, like Pedro de Giron and the Navarese Count of Salvatierra, took the popular side, and many of the clergy, headed by the Bishop of Zamora, the bellicose and republican Antonio de Acuna, were its strenuous supporters. The repressive measures of Charles' viceroy, his old Flemish tutor, Cardinal Hadrian, whose general, Antonio de Fonseca, burned Medina del Campo, only lent cohesion to the movement. The revolted Communeros sent representatives to an assembly or Junta Santa at Avila (July 1520), subsequently transferred to Tordesillas, which was captured by the revolutionists (29th August), and, under the bold leadership of men like Juan de Padilla and Pedro Laso, deposed the viceroy and the royal council, assumed the supreme power, and formulated a bulky petition for sweeping reforms. These petitions reveal the reaction against the autocratic system which Charles represented, as well as the hatred of the rapacity of his foreign favourites. Among other items the petitioners demanded the regular convocation of the Cortes every three years, security of person and freedom of election and speech for the deputies, the deposition of the regent and the dismissal of foreigners from all offices in Church and State, the liberation of the municipalities from the encroachments of the crown, the taxation of the nobility, their exclusion from various offices, and the restoration of the common lands appropriated by them.

The last demand was singularly impolitic, for it alienated the nobles from the commons, and finally wrecked the movement. It availed not that the Junta strove to secure the alliance of Queen Juana, Charles' mother, whom Ferdinand had craftily imprisoned at Tordesillas as a lunatic, and whom

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the revolutionists now declared capable of governing. Nor did it avail that Juana, in return, nominated Padilla Captain-general of the kingdom, with dictatorial powers. The eccentric queen was not equal to the emergency. She played an irresolute part as between the popular delegates and the nobility, and would not adhibit her signature to the acts of the Junta. Whilst the cleavage between aristocracy and democracy, which was in fact of old standing, became wider and wider, the royalists, who found leaders in the Constable Velasco and his son, Count Haro, and the reactionaries were rallying in support of the royal authority. This division proves only too clearly that the reformers were incompetent to guide the movement to any practical result. Their aspirations were too large for their capacities. The various orders had not been accustomed to act together in the Cortes, and they soon found it impossible to co-operate in the Junta or the field. The incompatibility of their respective interests and aspirations is as apparent in Spanish as in French history. It was this that wrecked the parliamentary machine in France; and it contributed to paralyse effective action on the part of the Junta at this crisis of Spanish history. Even had the army of the Communeros succeeded in defeating the trained levies of the Constable, power would have fallen into the hands of the representatives of the eighteen cities which claimed the exclusive right of representation in the Cortes.

Moreover, the Junta wasted its energies in decreeing democratic reforms, while neglecting to take adequate measures for their realisation. It negotiated with the absent monarch, while defying his government. It quarrelled and hesitated, and revolutions which vacillate between irresolution and spasmodic action do not succeed. Worst of all, it substituted Don Pedro de Giron for Padilla as Captain-general, and Giron proved utterly unfit for the post, if indeed he was not a traitor to the popular cause. He withdrew his troops from Tordesillas, and allowed it to be stormed and pillaged by Count Haro (5th December). Juana sank again into the position of a prisoner; and though Padilla strove, as Captain-general once more, in place of Giron, to retrieve the losing cause of the confederates and captured Torrelobaton, his efforts to retake Tordesillas and free the queen were frustrated

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by division in the Junta, and by the treachery of its president, Don Pedro Laso, who entered into negotiations with the enemy. The final blow was struck at Villalar, where Padilla's democratic army was caught by the royalist cavalry on the 23rd April 1521, and driven into panic-stricken rout. Its leader was struck down fighting almost single-handed for "St Jago and Freedom," and, along with his associates, Bravo and Maldonada, expiated on the scaffold, on the following day, his enthusiasm in a noble but premature cause. It was in vain that his high-spirited wife, Donna Maria Pacheco, maintained for several months longer a forlorn hope in the defence of Toledo. She was forced to seek refuge in Portugal, and the revolution of the Castilian Cortes was at an end. The Junta, unfortunately, had done its best to make failure inevitable.

In Valencia and Majorca, where the revolt had taken on a social character and had been distinguished by popular excesses against the higher orders and the Moors, the combination of the burghers with the nobles ultimately succeeded in re-establishing the royal authority. When Charles again set foot on Spanish soil at Santander on the 16th July 1522 the revolutionary spirit had everywhere been cowed except in a few isolated districts.

The rout of Padilla's army at Villalar proved, according to Mr Burke, "the final destruction of the free national life of the Spanish people." "The failure of the movement," says another recent writer, Mr Butler Clarke, "so depressed the popular cause, that until the beginning of the nineteenth century the Spanish commons but rarely again raised up their heads beneath the sceptre of their absolute kings." Nevertheless, the Castilian Cortes remained, under the rule of Charles at least, an appreciable factor in government. It continued to demand redress of grievances, and this at times in very energetic language. It is even found occasionally insisting on the redress of grievances before granting supply. It resisted his claim to prescribe the mandates with which its members were entrusted by their constituents. It did not disappear into abeyance, like the States-General of France, and Charles did not venture to go the length of taxing his subjects at pleasure. His respect for tradition kept him from improving

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his victory to the extent of effacing the old constitution, though he took summary vengeance on the ringleaders of revolt, and would not brook the policy of limiting the crown by the parliament. He had sometimes, as in 1538, when it refused to sanction the sisa, or duty on meat, to bear the affront of a refusal to his demands for extraordinary taxation. A large number of ordinances, based on its petitions throughout the reign, attest its practical influence on legislation. It insisted, too, that the laws passed by it should only be repealed whilst it was in session, in order that the reasons of such repeal should be submitted to it.

Despite these instances of self-assertion, however, the Cortes cannot be regarded as representative of the national will in any appreciable degree. To see in their assembly the modern parliament would be like mistaking the Scottish Convention of Royal Burghs for the Scottish National Assembly in the Parliament House, Edinburgh, or for the Imperial Parliament at Westminster. Not only did the nobles and clergy finally cease after 1538 to take part in its deliberations; even the Deputies of the Third Estate, who henceforth composed it, could not claim to represent the mass of the communes. They merely represented the eighteen cities which possessed parliamentary rights, and even the majority of the representatives of these privileged eighteen were *regidores* who owed their appointments to crown patronage. The Cortes was thus largely an assembly of royal officials, who, as a rule, were capable of manipulation in the royal interest and only too amenable to royal gratifications. Parliamentary corruption sapped its moral as well as its representative strength. As compared with the Royal Council—the active and subservient instrument of the royal will, the strenuous agent of centralised authority—its functions and its influence were but limited.

The diminution of its power was accelerated by the autocratic devotee of egotism, superstition, and routine who succeeded the great emperor. Philip II. was a poor specimen of a king in many respects, but he believed himself equal to the divine mission of governing the greatest empire of the day, and toiled like a slave in prosecution of his aim of centring all power in himself. He could brook no remonstrances from the Cortes that limited his absolute right to do as he pleased.

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When, in 1555, the members objected to the abrogation of laws without right consent, according to old practice, Philip kept them three years waiting for an answer, and then curtly told them that his will was law. "If I please, I shall annul, without the Cortes, the laws made in Cortes. I shall legislate by pragmatic (ordinance), and I shall repeal by pragmatic."

Again, in 1573, when they took to discussing the motion for supply, they were snappishly told that supply was a tribute which they owed the king, and their vote a mere constitutional form. Philip, in fact, raised taxes, in cases of emergency, beyond the sum voted at intervals by the Cortes, and quashed all remonstrance with the plea of necessity.

"The representative institutions of Castile," says Mr Martin Hume, the chief living English authority on modern Spanish history, "had been undermined by Charles, during whose reign the nobles and clergy were excluded from the Cortes. Under Charles and Philip the municipal life of the country, which had been so vigorous, was completely destroyed, the *corregidores* of the towns becoming simply magistrates appointed by the royal authority and subservient to the council of Castile. The town councils had in former times been the basis of parliamentary representation, and with their degradation, and the subsequent corruption introduced, the Cortes became merely an institution for legalising the exactions demanded by the sovereign of the people."

Those of Aragon and Catalonia which were representative of the Three Estates showed, however, more mettlesomeness, and obliged Philip, by their staunch resistance to arbitrary tactics, to show some respect for their rights and privileges.

There is no chance of discovering any germs of modern liberty in the Spain of Philip II., who characteristically celebrated his arrival from the Netherlands in October 1559 by an auto-da-fé at Valladolid. His rule was a hideous despotism in Church and State, which blighted the national prosperity and the constitutional institutions of the Spanish people, as well as drove the Spanish Netherlands into revolt. Political and religious liberty were alike stifled. His fanaticism and his egotism effectually suffocated every impulse of progress which Isabella's bigotry, or Ferdinand's craft, or Charles' respect for tradition had allowed to survive. Unfortunately, the sombre religiosity

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of Philip's Spanish subjects seconded only too well the repressive instincts of their master. Such a people was certainly not born to fulfil the promise of intellectual and constitutional development contained in its past history, though it produced, by way of reaction against Philip's despotism, in the historian Mariana, a literary champion of popular sovereignty, and of the popular right to punish its infringement by summarily putting the tyrant to death. Far otherwise was it with the stout burghers of the Spanish Netherlands, more particularly of Holland and Zealand, where the policy of the Spanish despot resulted in the travail and birth of a glorious republic.

SOURCES.—Lafuente and Valera, Historia General de Espana, vols. 7, 8, 9 (1889); Prescott, History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, edited by J. F. Kirk; Robertson, History of Charles V., edited, with additions, by Prescott (1857); Burke, A History of Spain, vol. ii. (1900); Martin Hume, Spain (1479-1788), with Introduction by E. Armstrong (1898); Hume, Philip II. (1897); Butler Clarke, The Catholic Kings, in vol. i. of Cambridge Modern History; Armstrong, The Emperor Charles V. (1902); Hume, Spain under Philip II., Cambridge Modern History, iii. (1904).

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CHAPTER X.

REFORMATION AND REVOLUTION IN THE NETHERLANDS —THE BEGINNINGS OF THE RELIGIOUS REVOLT.

IT was a fateful stroke that gave the Netherlands a ruler who was both a Habsburg and a Spaniard, and who became King of Spain and Emperor of Germany as well. Such was Duke Charles, son of Philip the Fair and Juana, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella. The connection with the imperial dynasty began under Maximilian, father of Philip; that with Spain began under Philip himself, who died at Burgos in 1506, a few months after he had assumed as king the government of Castile. From 1507 to 1515 his sister Margaret acted as regent of the Netherlands under Maximilian's supervision. Charles, who attained his majority in the latter year, had hardly ruled a twelvemonth over the Burgundian provinces when, in 1516, the death of Ferdinand made him in turn King of Spain. Three years later the suffrages of the electors made him emperor in succession to his grandfather Maximilian. The cares of his royal and imperial dignities henceforth absorbed most of his attention, and he ruled his hereditary Burgundian possessions through two women—his aunt Margaret, governess till 1530, and his sister Mary, the widowed Queen of Hungary, who acted as regent from 1530 to 1555.

The spirit of the autocrat was none the less felt in the government of the Netherlands. The policy of centralisation on the model of the modern monarchy was continued. To this end the administration was vested, by the reorganisation of 1531, in a Council of State and a new Privy Council. In the same year Charles augmented, too, the powers of the Great Council of Justice at Mechlin, which Philip the Fair had restored, though he did not succeed in bringing Brabant and some of the other provinces to submit to its general jurisdiction. He maintained a standing army which, though smaller

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than that of Charles the Bold, was a well-equipped force, and proved its efficiency in his French wars. The exigencies of policy forced him, as they had forced his father, to summon the Estates, general and provincial, more frequently than he liked, but they were not allowed to control that policy or encroach on the administration. They merely acted the part of paymaster of his imperial schemes, and though they took the opportunity to bargain for the redress of grievances, and succeeded in squeezing at least an occasional accommodation, they were not permitted to exercise the rights stipulated in the "Groote Privilegie." When not summoned to pay for the emperor's "world" policy, their sessions were merely ornamental, *i.e.*, when a governor-general was instituted, or Philip presented to his future subjects, or the enfeebled emperor abdicated in his favour. "The Government," says Professor Blok, "summoned them when it considered their presence necessary in its own interest, and although Charles sometimes made it appear as though he would take no important measure without their help, the States-General knew only too well that the sovereign assembled them only in the hope of obtaining relief from the eternal money stress in which he might be involved."

The autocrat might condescend to bargain, through his representative, for subsidies; he would not suffer anything in the nature of popular interference. He kept a tight rein on the restive Flemish cities that had given his ancestors so much trouble. He had refused at the beginning of his reign to recognise the "liberties" which Ghent claimed in virtue of the "Groote Privilegie," and the "Calf Skin," or document issued on that occasion, denounced heavy punishment against all who should assert them. Ghent accordingly bore a grudge against its ruler, in spite of the fact that it was the city of his birth, and in 1536 it refused its quota to a large subsidy granted by a majority of the members of the provincial Estates of Flanders in aid of the war against Francis I., though it offered to send a contingent to the imperial army. It appealed in vain to its ancient charter. Charles insisted on submission; the Queen-Regent Mary imprisoned all Ghenters caught in Brabant; and the old defiant spirit of the populace burst out once more in revolt. The gilds deposed the magistrates, and took posses-

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sion of the government. They cut in pieces the obnoxious calf skin, and tortured and beheaded one of the ex-magistrates who was accused of treachery to the popular *régime*. They even went the length of professing their allegiance to Charles' arch enemy, Francis I. Francis preferred, however, to negotiate with Charles, and negotiations having put an end to hostilities, Charles was at last free, in 1540, to take vengeance on the rebellious city. He passed through France, and entered Ghent on the 14th February, in the midst of a gorgeous retinue, and a splendid escort of lancers, halberdiers, and musketeers. Resistance was hopeless, and Ghent, after petitioning for the observances of its privileges, was forced to sue for mercy. Charles showed mercy of a kind. He did not, as the ferocious Alva advised, destroy the city. He contented himself with sending the ringleaders to the block for high treason, and in the course of a theatrical scene, which displayed all his splendour and power, allowed himself to be persuaded by the intercession of the regent to grant pardon to the representatives of the rebellious city, who appeared before him clad in penitential garments, and some of the more obnoxious of whom he compelled to beg it on their knees, with halters round their necks. But he made them pay dearly in fines and confiscated privileges, if not in blood. The decree of the 29th April annulled all the city's charters, confiscated all its property and revenues, directed the great Roland to be torn from its belfry, stipulated the payment of the subsidy, and inflicted a heavy fine in addition, reduced the number of the gilds from fifty-five to twenty-one, and deprived them of self-government, and placed the nomination of the magistrates in the hands of the sovereign. Thus, at one blow, the liberties and rights of centuries were annihilated, and in their annihilation the other cities were taught that, if ancient municipal rights were respected, it was only in virtue of their subservience to the sovereign's will.

Charles' rule was autocratic enough, but it was not without its redeeming traits. It respected usage and privilege as far as was compatible with a strong central government. It made considerable progress in the work of fusing into unity a number of provinces too weak separately to stand against the empire on the one hand, and France on the other. Out of the

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Burgundian provinces a great centralised State, which the death of Charles the Bold had temporarily dislocated, bade fair to emerge. Provincial liberties and rights had suffered in the process, but the States-General had at least the power of granting taxes and wringing redress of grievances as a condition of its liberality. The Flemish cities had lost their old vitality, but those of Brabant and Holland were rising into prosperity. Amsterdam and Antwerp were inheriting the prosperity of Bruges and Ghent. A powerful united State, of which the States-General held the purse-strings, and on whose government they had consequently an indirect influence at least, seemed to be striking vigorously out on a great career among the modern nations. With Charles as pilot, there appeared to be no fear of shipwreck. With Philip in his father's place, the outlook suddenly darkened. By his bigotry and tyranny the Spanish Philip steered straight on the rocks, and the Burgundian State was for ever buried under the billows of rebellion. In its place rose the Dutch Republic, the glorious creation of the spirit of liberty which Philip's despotism evoked, to the undoing of the Spanish-Burgundian rule over this heroic Dutch folk. This spirit of liberty was the offspring of a long tradition of manful struggle in the assertion or vindication of political rights. It was mightily quickened by the new force of religious conviction which the Reformation brought to the Netherlands, as to the other countries of Northern Europe.

In a region so replete with manful struggle in defence of civic and political rights we should naturally expect to find frequent traces of reform in the Church, and even of revolt against the hierarchy. Nor is our expectation disappointed. The Church in these Burgundian lands was indeed rich and powerful, for here, as elsewhere, the clergy had taken care to help themselves very liberally to the things of this world through the testaments of the dying faithful. They throve magnificently on mediæval ignorance and superstition. The bishops were lords of vast estates, and some of them, like their episcopal highnesses of Liège and Utrecht, were powerful sovereigns. Besides the broad acres belonging to the Church, the clergy drew large revenues from tithes and dues. But their wealth and privileges exposed them to the envy and hatred

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of the secular lords, and under the Burgundian dukes—Charles the Bold especially—they were compelled to suffer the diminution of both their wealth and their privileges for the benefit of the State. The reaction against clerical power and abuse is, too, very observable in the growth of religious associations, heretic and non-heretic—Waldensians, Beghards, Beguines, Fraticelli, Lollards, Brothers and Sisters of the Free Spirit, &c. These were more or less unsound in the faith, and drew down on themselves the bitterest persecution on the part of the official clergy. Their enemies give them a bad character as well for evil practices. They were, or became at any rate, hostile to the official Church as well as the orthodox theology, and it would not be surprising if, in an age of gross superstition and crass popular ignorance, some of them should have swerved into fanatic extremes of self-indulgence as revolting as their detractors assert. Certain it seems that they laid stress on the religion of the spirit rather than of the letter, and their existence is of interest to us as showing the tendency to revolt against a traditional system of belief and rite too strong for even the tremendous penalties attached to nonconformity to check. Nor was the mystic tendency in opposition to the dominant formalism all of the type of the Brethren of the Free Spirit. In men like John Ruysbroek it rose in pure flight to the infinite, sought communion with God through the heart and the imagination rather than the senses. And in Gerhard Groote and Florentius, whom Ruysbroek powerfully influenced, this contemplative spirit was combined with a practical activity which found its noble expression in the Fraternity of the Common Life. The Brotherhood, which Groote and Florentius founded at Deventer, and which expanded into numerous branch communities in the Netherlands and Western Germany, was no strictly ecclesiastical order. It was a voluntary association of pious men and women, who took no vows and did not separate themselves from the world, but worked with their hands, or taught in the schools which they founded, or wrote devotional books, or gave themselves up to works of charity or mercy, none the less zealously on that account. The schools at Deventer, Zwolle, Hertogenbosch, and other places were among the most famous educational institutions of the age.

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It was at Deventer that Thomas à Kempis acquired what education he ever obtained; for, unlike Groote and Florentius, he never attended a university. Another celebrated pupil was Nicholas Krebs, of Cues on the Moselle, better known as the reforming Cardinal Cusanus. Here, too, at a later time, under the auspices of Alexander Hegius, the humanists Conrad Mutianus, Hermann von dem Busche, and, supreme over all, Erasmus, laid the foundation of their classic erudition. Florentius was also the founder of a convent of Augustinian canons regular at Windeshem, near Zwolle, and in the first half of the fifteenth century a considerable number of these Windeshem communities were established in the Netherlands and Germany. Like the Brethren they combined education with the religious life, and thus helped to nurture the reforming spirit.

Neither the Brethren nor the Windeshem canons were hostile to the Church. They aimed at a reformation from within, and the Council of Constance vindicated their orthodoxy from the charges of the Dominican monk, Mathew of Grabow, and augmented the privileges of the Windeshem congregations. They were, however, swimming against the current of clerical degeneracy, which in the Netherlands, as elsewhere, made reform as difficult as it was urgent. Their efforts had therefore only a temporary and partial success, and by the end of the fifteenth century they had lost their earlier vitality, and were apparently swimming with the tide. Erasmus, who knew intimately the inside of one of these Windeshem monasteries at Steyn, near Gouda, gives no flattering reminiscences of his old fellow-monks, though he had painted the cloister life in attractive colours in one of his youthful productions. They indulged in tremendous drinking bouts, and their excesses were not limited to drunkenness. "Our drinking bouts were as little spiritual as was, in short, our whole manner of life, of which I know not what good remains if the so-called ceremonials be omitted." His attack on monkery in general was doubtless all the more poignant by reason of the personal impressions of these early days. Erasmus, the brightest meteor of the northern Renascence, nevertheless, owed something to these fast degenerating Brethren and Augustinian canons. They had at least quickened the spirit of knowledge within him; and in him, as

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in them, we discern the bent towards the practical. Erasmus was but a poor type of reformer judged from the standpoint of the crusaders who were donning their armour on all sides, at Wittenberg and elsewhere, for the battle with Antichrist. He was deficient in physical courage, in the keen-edged conviction which the friction with ecclesiastical abuses, with scholastic obscurantism, had at last produced in men like Luther and Zwingli. He could lash the lazy, stupid, self-indulgent monks with his sarcasm; he could not beard the pope and face the stake. He was not made, he confesses, to be a martyr; he would play the part of Simon Peter over again, if it came to the pinch. His scholarly tastes were, moreover, jarred by the impetuosity of the warring theologians on both sides, and, in an age in which these theologians were engaged in a fight to a finish, the utmost that he would dare was to deal an occasional thrust from behind the safe shelter of a neutral humanism. Nevertheless, he did no small service to the cause of progress. His humanism was practical, and, as far as compatible with his own safety, militant. It was not merely a means of self-culture, as in Italy. He sought to improve the Church, and even the State, as well as himself. He was the friend and fellow-worker of More and Colet, if not of Luther. He was the preacher of a rational culture which should eradicate abuses in a peaceable, gradual fashion in Church and State, diffuse a new light where obscurantist darkness reigned, raise society to a higher moral and intellectual level. He had a practical aim in view, even in composing the works of pure scholarship, which gained him his highest reputation. His Greek Testament was a mighty weapon wherewith to rout the scholastic pedants who warred against sound criticism and rational exegesis. And in his lighter works, his "Praise of Folly," his "Education of a Christian Prince," designed for the instruction of the young Charles of Burgundy, the future emperor, his "Adagia," and his "Colloquia," his aim was the improvement of human society. His success as an author enabled him to wield an enormous influence, for, in spite of the limitation which the use of the Latin language imposed, he enjoyed the rare happiness of being read as fast as he could write and print. If many editions could make a writer happy, Erasmus must

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have tasted happiness in large draughts, in spite of the literary and theological quarrels that dogged him at Basel, where he spent the last period of his cosmopolitan career.

Erasmus of Rotterdam is the refulgent luminary of the northern Renascence. Beside him the smaller lights of humanism in the Netherlands are almost invisible. Yet he was only the most distinguished of a band of scholars that flourished contemporaneously in these highly civilised Burgundian lands—Agricola, Wessel, Muromellius, Rode, Hoen, and many more. These men were, like Erasmus, animated by the reforming spirit, and some of them—Hoen and Rode, for instance—were, unlike him, prepared to take sides with Luther. Among the people, too, the literary associations, known as the *Rederijkers*, had nurtured a popular taste for poetry and drama of a rough-and-ready type. These popular literary associations pilloried the vices of the age in Church and State in their rude dramatic pieces, and thereby quickened the critical spirit which was preparing to assimilate the teaching of the militant reformers when the time should come. We are wont to speak of the phlegmatic Dutch. I do not think that Dutch history bears out the epithet. It shows them to be the most resolute and heroic of nations when heroism and resolution are called for by some great danger or disaster. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, at all events, there was no more alert, quick-witted, unmanageable people in Europe.

The militant reformers had, in fact, begun the attack in the Netherlands long before Luther nailed his thesis to the door of the Wittenberg church. The Brethren had tried to reform from within and had failed, as the reformers from within had everywhere failed. If the Brethren in general kept within the limits of orthodoxy, some of those who were trained in their schools or inspired by their teaching struck a bolder note. John of Goch, John of Wesel, and John of Wessel were indisputable heretics, though they did not formally separate from the Church. With the evangelical views of John Pupper of Goch, prior of an Augustinian convent at Mechlin in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, Luther does not seem to have been acquainted. John of Wesel—whether Niederwesel in the duchy of Cleves, or Oberwesel in

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the middle Rhine Valley, is uncertain—professor at Erfurt and preacher at Worms about the same period, he had read for his master's degree, and Wesel combated the doctrine of indulgence, emphasised the necessity of faith, and inveighed against the corruption of the hierarchy, as strenuously as Luther himself. For these opinions he was tried as a heretic by the Archbishop of Maintz in 1479, and, though he agreed to recant and ask for mercy, he was sentenced to lifelong imprisonment in the Augustinian monastery at Maintz. John of Wessel anticipated Luther in a still more remarkable degree, as the Wittenberg reformer acknowledged after his writings came into his hands. Like Erasmus, Wessel was a wandering scholar, and his steps as ambient scholar and theologian may be traced to Cologne, Paris, Rome, Basel, Heidelberg, and finally to Zwolle, where he had been educated in the school of the Brethren. Like Luther, he was a born fighter—the Master of Contradictions—and slew the Realists in many a stout encounter, as champion of the Nominalists, at Cologne, Paris, and elsewhere. And, like Luther, he did battle against more practical abuses than the subtleties of the Realists. He maintained the supreme authority of Scripture. He taught the doctrines of justification by faith and the priesthood of believers. He emphasised the fallibility of the pope. He professed a doctrine of the Eucharist analogous to that of Zwingli, and therefore too rational for Luther. He rejected masses for the dead, and, in short, appears to have been a combination of Luther and Zwingli fully a quarter of a century before they were born. The wonder is that the Dominicans of Cologne and Louvain did not burn him. They must either have been napping, or the Master of Contradictions must have been accounted too dangerous an antagonist to be tackled. At any rate, he died in peace in 1489 at Groningen.

Duke Charles, who, as Charles V., thundered the imperial ban against Luther at the Diet of Worms, made up for this remissness by a series of vigorous persecuting edicts against "the Lutherans" in his Netherland dominions. As in France and England, the term "Lutheran" denoted all heretics—the followers of Calvin and Zwingli as well as of Luther—during the earlier Reformation movement. Humanists like Hoen and Rode allied themselves with Zwingli as well as Luther.

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It was probably through Hoen that Zwingli developed sacramental views akin to those of Wessel. Wittenberg, however, attracted students from the Netherlands as from other countries, and ere long Luther's works were imported and printed, and sold by the thousand. Many of the Augustinian monks, notably those of Antwerp and Dordrecht, became his disciples, and zealously spread the new doctrines. The tide of reformation gathered strength as it flowed, and from Flanders to Friesland, from Holland to Cleves, the surge of the new religious life was felt in every town and hamlet. The spread of heresy is attested by the numerous edicts for its suppression. Even before the Diet of Worms, Charles had signalised his anti-Lutheran zeal by the publication of a placard forbidding the printing or reading of Lutheran books, and punishing delinquents by fine. After the Diet came the formal edict of condemnation, which denounced death and forfeiture of goods against heretics, and the appointment of inquisitors to put it in force. In 1523 two Augustinian monks of Antwerp were condemned to the flames and burned. These monks, Henry Voes and John Esch, were the first victims of the bigotry that made the Netherlands for the next fifty years a veritable shambles—the first of the fifty thousand victims whom the Prince of Orange reckoned, too liberally, however, to have suffered for the faith. Luther's Bible, translated into Dutch, multiplied the candidates for martyrdom, who emulated the early Christians in the joy with which they went to their cruel doom. Against this vernacular Bible the persecuting edicts rained in vain. A dozen of them, culminating in the monstrous deliverance of 1550, may be counted between the years 1521 and 1555, and some of them, which direct heretic women to be buried alive, really beat the record.

Charles was not obliged by political necessity to practise moderation in his hereditary dominions as in the empire. There were no Protestant electors and princes in the Netherlands to manipulate in his struggle with the Turk or the King of France, and the succession of barbarous edicts or placards bear witness alike to his autocratic will and his hatred of Lutheranism, which found in the Burgundian provinces the scope denied them in Germany. Their very frequency

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testifies, however, that moral, if not political, antagonism to the autocrat was by no means lacking, especially in the northern provinces. They might temporarily retard the triumph of the Reformation; they failed to eradicate heresy. The inquisitors multiplied their victims; they drove shiploads of fugitives across the North Sea to England; they forced many to recant. They did not rehabilitate the old creed. They could not prevent an even more formidable enemy than Luther from winning proselytes. In spite of persecution Calvinism spread from France into Flanders and Hainault, and Calvinism was ere long to prove more than a match for an even more autocratic potentate, a bitterer persecutor than Charles, in the life-and-death struggle for political as well as religious liberty.

Meanwhile Anabaptist fanatics, whom persecution or religious aberration drove mad, threatened for a short time to anticipate the Calvinist revolution. The vagaries of the Brethren of the Free Spirit reappeared in the religious madness of these sectaries, disciples of David Joriszoon the Delft glassmaker, John Mathiaszoon the Haarlem baker, John Trypmaker of Amsterdam, and John Beukelzoon the tailor of Leyden. Their creed was a compound of mysticism, sensuality, communism, apocalyptic extravagance, and, like Münzer and his followers in Germany, these crazy zealots believed in the efficacy of force in reforming Church and society in accordance with the Apocalypse. Their dangerous extravagances explain the severity of the persecution against them. Mathiaszoon and Beukelzoon sought safety in flight to the Anabaptist paradise at Münster, and from here they sent forth their emissaries to stir up revolt in Holland and Friesland in 1535. An attack on the town-house of Amsterdam was only defeated after desperate fighting. Other attempts at Oldeklooster, Kampen, Groningen, Leyden, &c., were equally sanguinary and equally misguided. The punishment of such as were taken prisoner was brutal enough. Their hearts were torn out alive and thrown in their faces, their bodies quartered and hung upon the town gates. By such ferocious methods the Anabaptist contagion was finally stamped out, and the movement only continued in the purer form of Mennonitism whose votaries —followers of Menno—while holding the doctrine of adult

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baptism, eschewed the coarse crudities of Beukelzoon, objected to take an oath or engage in military service, and sought to live in literal obedience to the precepts of the gospel.

Under Charles and his governesses-general, Margaret and Mary, the government of the Netherlands had been antagonistic to the Reformation, whether Lutheran, Zwinglian, Calvinist, Anabaptist. Heresy was heresy, whatever its form, and heresy must be repressed if persecuting edicts of more than ordinary savagery could repress it. Persecuting edicts were, however, in accordance with the spirit of the age, and doubtless Charles and his representatives acted in the conviction that they were serving God and the Netherlands in trying to stamp out the Lutheran pestilence at all costs, even if in so doing they buried women alive. The conviction is not flattering to their intelligence, far less to their humanity; but heresy being reckoned by benighted bigots a crime against Church and State, it is possible to explain how men, and even women, otherwise not lacking in either intelligence or humanity, regarded it as a duty to burn or bury alive those whose only crime was to believe in Christ in accordance with the New Testament rather than according to tradition. Charles and his representatives had, too, as far as was compatible with "the world policy," and with that of subservient centralisation, governed for the interests of the Netherlands. He was a ruler of grandiose projects, of despotic instincts. But he was a Fleming as well as a Spaniard (more Fleming than Spaniard, in fact), and, though striving for universal sway, had the interest of a Fleming in his hereditary dominions.

Very unlike the father in this respect, and in most other respects, was the son who succeeded him as Lord of the Netherlands and King of Spain. Philip was a Spaniard born and bred, carefully educated by both his tutor and his governor, anxiously fostered by his affectionate yet strict mother, Isabella of Portugal. He was not an attractive boy; was neither ingenuous nor easily moulded, but reserved, staid, melancholy, sickly, proud, prudent, terribly dignified. Experience came early to this strange boy. Regent of Spain at sixteen, husband at seventeen by his marriage with Maria of Portugal, he was already a father and a widower at nineteen. At twenty-seven he became titular King of England by

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becoming the husband of its queen. At twenty-eight, *i.e.*, in 1555, he became by his father's abdication Lord of the Netherlands and King of Spain and all the wide Spanish dominions in Italy and America. His sovereignty was not so extensive as that of his father, for the imperial dignity went to his uncle Ferdinand, but the crown of England was a counterpoise to the loss of the imperial dignity, and his sovereignty was far and away the most splendid of the age. Fortune could scarcely have been more lavish in her gifts of grandeur and power to mortal man. And this man was in most respects a strange enough mortal—already a valetudinarian, like his prematurely old father, a lover of solitude and secrecy, selfish, cold, suspicious, taciturn, ill at ease, incapable of feeling or inspiring affection, except in the inner circle of his family, let alone enthusiasm. "He was," says Suriano, "little liked by the Italians, most repugnant to the Flemings, hateful to the Germans." Such a man could not, try as he might—and he did occasionally try when absolute necessity made trying imperative—adapt himself or his policy to gain the love or serve the interests of his Netherland subjects. He could not even speak their language; he disliked their sprightly, festive ways. To him they could never be other than foreigners, their country more than a Spanish province. Estrangement, repulsion, was the only result of contact. The Netherlands had profited commercially from the Spanish connection under Charles V. The products of America were transported from Spanish ports to the northern seas in Dutch and Flemish ships. Antwerp became the great shipping and commercial centre of the world. But the people had never liked the Spaniards, and they detested the idea of Spanish dominion as incorporated in Philip. There certainly was no love lost between sovereign and subjects when he made over the task of governing the Netherlands to his natural sister, Margaret of Parma, and set sail for Spain in August 1559. Philip went; the Spanish soldiery, whom he would fain have left in permanence, he was forced by the insistence of the Estates to promise to withdraw within a few months. But he left in the hands of the regent and her "Consulta" a well-defined policy. They were to govern the Netherlands in the interest of Spain, and that too with a high hand, irrespective of the

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aspirations or interests of magnates or people. The States-General, which had ventured to couple its parting tribute with the demand for the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, were especially objectionable. Why not ask himself as well to demit his sovereignty, burst out Philip wrathfully?

In spite of valetudinarian listlessness Philip had his convictions and passions. He had the autocratic instinct, and, though too small a man to play the autocrat with success, he developed a prodigious application in directing the government of his vast dominions. He was fond of writing directions to his councillors, despatches to his envoys. He sat for hours at the council board, and liked to lose himself in a multiplicity of details; yet he was very dependent on his ministers—Ruy Gomez and Alva in particular, who added to his vacillation by their personal hostility, their divergent policies. To scribble industriously and swirl continually in the whirlpool of divergent councils was a sorry *rôle* for an autocrat, but, in spite of natural inaptitude, his bent was towards despotic methods. He wished his will to be law, untrammelled by liberties, or privileges, or usages, and he was still more hostile than his father to anything like political progress or independence. He was by no means a born ruler of men; his abilities were those of plodding mediocrity. But he was a born egotist, and, in virtue of his egotism, he made his personality felt in affairs. Spain and the Netherlands soon felt what it meant to be governed by a man who had all the petty self-will of the born egotist without the real ability of the born ruler. On one point he permitted himself no irresolution, suffered no divergence of opinion, whether in Spain or the Netherlands. The faith must be preserved; heretics, of whatever rank or persuasion, exterminated. He was resolute in playing the despot pure and simple over the conscience. He was more monk than king in the matter of religious observances, though not in abstinence from sensual indulgence. He was licentious, but he was as regular as the clock in his devotions, and had a great reverence for the monks who preached to him and discussed theology with him. Charles could bend piety to policy, ally himself with the heretic when it suited him, even sack Rome to punish a recalcitrant pope. Philip, too, could not always keep his religion free from political entanglement.

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He, too, had to make war on the pope at the beginning of his reign, and manipulate the heretic Elizabeth. But bigotry was with him a passion, heresy the most malignant of evils, and the extirpation of heresy throughout his dominions, and, as far as he could help it, in every land of Christendom, was the predominant striving of his life. "How can you thus look on and permit me to be burned?" asked a young noble heretic on the occasion of one of the *auto-da-fés* with which he celebrated his arrival in Spain. "I would carry the wood," replied Philip grimly, "to burn my own son with, were he as wicked as you." On this point his expressed determination to the Grand Council of Mechlin left no room for dubiety. He enjoined all judges and magistrates to execute the edicts against heretics "with the utmost rigour, and without respect of persons whatsoever." Philip believed in the Inquisition as an instrument of religious and political despotism. He publicly swore on his return to Spain to support it with all his power, and with the royal will as its mainspring the Inquisition acquired a still more terrible energy in the crusade of coercion.

It remained to be seen whether, after the reign of Charles V., there was sufficient spirit left in the Netherlands to withstand the aggravation of the worst features of that reign by Philip II. There was dislike enough from the outset, and, happily for the progress of religious and political freedom, there was one man among the members of the regent's Council of State born to thwart and bring to naught the tyranny and bigotry of the autocrat. In Margaret of Parma and her most intimate councillors—Anthony Perrenot, bishop of Arras, and presently to become Cardinal Granvelle; Viglius, president of the Council of Mechlin; Berlaymont, president of the Council of Finance, who formed the Consulta, or Council within the Council of State—Philip found most loyal and subservient instruments of his schemes. They were all four devoted believers in autocracy; they were all bigots of the purest water. Viglius was, in fact, the chief author of the atrocious edict of 1550; Granvelle had the chief hand in its renewal by Philip, and the fact that Loyola had been Margaret's confessor is a sufficient guarantee of her staunch orthodoxy. In William of Orange, on the other hand, nature and circumstance had created the great antagonist of Philip's

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policy in Church and State. From the beginning there was a lack of confidence between them. William had already a brilliant career behind him. Charles V. had taken the warmest interest in him since in 1544, at the age of eleven, his father had sent him from the old ancestral castle of Dillenburg, in Nassau, to the court at Brussels. By inheritance he had become one of the richest and most powerful magnates of the Netherlands, though not a Netherlander by birth. His influence was increased by his marriage in 1551 with the daughter and heiress of the Count of Buren. Charles advanced him to high command in the war with Henry II. of France. In November 1555 Philip, in accord with his father's patronage, made him a member of the Council of State, and shortly afterwards a knight of the Golden Fleece. In his palaces at Brussels and Breda he maintained almost regal state. He won friends by his lavishness and his courtesy. In Philip's campaigns against Henry he again held high command, and though he did not shine as a soldier, compared with Egmont, he signalised his diplomatic powers as one of the negotiators of the Treaty of Cateau Cambresis. He was selected as one of the hostages for the execution of the treaty, and it was while sojourning at Paris in this capacity that he learned from the lips of Henry himself the great secret of the united crusade against the Protestants. He was not himself a Protestant, though he was the son of Protestant parents. He had been carefully educated by Charles in the Catholic faith, and at this period he professed himself in his letters to Philip and the Duchess of Parma an ardent Catholic. But, if we may trust his apology written twenty years later, his soul recoiled from the barbarous policy of extermination thus unwarily revealed to him, and between him and Philip there was an ominous lack of sympathy in this cardinal matter. He might profess zeal in suppressing heresy, at the instigation of the Duchess Margaret, in his principality of Orange in the south of France, but his second marriage with the daughter of the Elector Maurice of Saxony in 1561 did not bespeak the frantic bigot after Philip's own heart. Nor was he disposed to allow Philip and his representatives to play the autocrat at will with the aid of Spanish troops, and it was largely owing to his activity behind the scenes that the

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States-General insisted on their withdrawal as the indispensable condition of a subsidy. Philip evidently knew all about his intrigues, and when about to take his departure reproved him for his opposition. William put the responsibility on the States-General. "Not the Estates," burst out Philip, angrily clutching the prince's wrist, "but you! you! you!" Philip divined the truth; perhaps also he divined the great enemy of the future. At any rate there was no affinity between the two.

It would be pure partiality to see in William of Orange at this period the absolutely disinterested patriot. He was ambitious and enterprising, eager to play a greater *rôle* in the government than that of Stadholder of Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht. He was a born politician, insinuating, profound, far-seeing, skilful in combination, and at this period his diplomatic powers were by no means directed solely to the advantage of his adopted country. The personal element in the policy of the ambitious young magnate who ruminated so deeply, while he wrote exemplary letters to Philip, to Margaret, to Granvelle, must be discounted. He was as yet the leader of a number of discontented nobles rather than of the nation, and the main thing for these malcontents was to energise their own influence in affairs. Still, in the main, his attitude is defensible on public grounds. The knowledge of the sinister trend of Philip's policy, gained at Paris—the brutal extirpation of heresy by means of Spanish soldiery—might well have stirred the moderate Catholic, such as he was, to activity in circumventing by intrigue what it was dangerous to thwart by open opposition. Intrigue he undoubtedly did, but intrigue was the only *modus operandi* under a Philip II. And if he was ambitious of playing a first *rôle*, his ambition was that of an enlightened magnate. It was, on the whole, directed to great ends, to the mitigation of savage intolerance, the thwarting of arbitrary government. Thus he was led by various influences, personal and patriotic, to make proof of his diplomatic ability in fomenting a national opposition to the Spanish Philip and his Spanish policy. Moreover, though not a Dutchman born, he had by education become a good Netherlander, and had by inheritance vast interests at stake in the country of his adoption. He succeeded in gaining

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over Count Egmont, the dashing and popular victor of St Quentin and Gravelines. Count Horn, admiral of the Netherlands, was another formidable recruit, the Marquis de Berghem a third, the Count of Brederode a fourth, Count Hoogstraten a fifth. Many of the lesser nobles, for whom he kept open table followed, such influential leadership, and thus the prince ere long stood at the head of a strong phalanx of aristocratic malcontents. Many of his followers were not personally men of high character. They lived fast, spent profusely, drank hard, were deep in debt, and cast longing eyes on the broad acres of the Church. At this initial stage we must not look for the heroic, high-toned principles of a later time. It was the people rather than the aristocracy that made the Dutch revolution what it afterwards became.

But even at this stage the malcontent Orange party had good grounds for opposition to the Consulta, which strove to govern the country in the interest of the royal autocracy, irrespective of the views of the other members of the Council of State. These aristocratic malcontents fastened on two grievances in their struggle with the masterful cardinal. The Spanish troops had not moved in spite of the royal promise, and what could their protracted presence betoken but some fell design against the liberties of the provinces? Philip and the pope had, moreover, resolved to multiply the number of dioceses from four to seventeen, and according to the papal bull the scheme was meant to secure the extirpation of heretics as well as the better government of the Church. The measure might be in itself a step in the direction of efficiency, but it was obnoxious to the nobility as tending to increase the ecclesiastical power at their expense, and was certain to lead to an access of persecution. It was, besides, a distinct contravention of the provincial charters, particularly of the "Joyeuse Entrée," and the danger of an accentuated ecclesiastical despotism rallied the people behind the nobles in the defence of rights and interests. Even the clergy were hostile, for the clergy did not relish the prospect of seventeen instead of four episcopal supervisors. Granvelle himself was not enamoured of the scheme, but acquiesced to please his master and retain his hold on power. He saw, too, the necessity of sending away the soldiers, and Philip was at last persuaded

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to withdraw them at the beginning of 1561, under pretext of requiring their services against the Moors. But he was inexorable in the matter of the bishoprics, and Granvelle, as the reluctant champion of the high-handed scheme, was exposed to all the odium which should mainly have fallen on his master. His arrogance was heightened by the cardinal's hat, and aggravated the hatred of his haughty opponents. "The arrogance of this prelate," says M. Gachard, "was extreme. His desire of domination knew no bounds, and the secretary Erasso, who knew him intimately, painted him to the life when he wrote to Count Egmont that his character had always been to pretend that all should be subject to him." His energy in putting in force the renewed edict of 1550, now that the conclusion of the war with France left him free to do so, roused the bitterest hatred of the people. The Rederijkers ridiculed and execrated him in verse and prose, and, while the people took their revenge in caricature and satire, the magnates bombarded Philip with epistolary denunciations and petitions for his removal. The cardinal parried these attacks by counter denunciations in letter after letter to Madrid. There was some truth in his animadversions, for the motives of patriotism and disinterestedness cannot be predicated of many of his opponents. Nor was Granvelle, if we may trust his letters to Philip, the wholesale enemy of the liberties and privileges of his adopted country. He was no indiscriminating champion of Spain and the Spaniards. But he was determined to maintain the government as concentrated in himself. He would not surrender his supremacy, and the war to the knife between him and his adversaries raged with increasing bitterness, as the correspondence with Madrid shows. For two years the epistolary duel continued without intromission. Intrigue gave place to open and bitter conflict, and the continuance of this conflict brought government to a deadlock. The provincial Estates would give no further subsidies. Orange, Egmont, Horn, resigned their seats in the Council of State, and demanded the convocation of the States-General. The knights of the Golden Fleece met to insist on the cardinal's dismissal. In this deadlock even the duchess lost faith in the domineering prelate, whom nobles and people joined in detesting and aspersing—not

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always fairly or charitably — and petitioned Philip to give way. Philip hesitated and procrastinated, but at length smothered his anger and summoned sufficient resolution to bid Granvelle visit his infirm mother in Burgundy (January 1564). He accordingly took his departure in the middle of March 1564. From Besançon he never returned; and the opposition had scored its first triumph in its resistance to the royal will. For the fight against Granvelle was at the same time a fight against the autocracy and bigotry of Philip which he represented, if he did not altogether instigate. Despite all Philip's bigotry and absolutism, they had forced him to dismiss a minister who was prepared to do his will at all hazards, though not without an occasional protest. Opportunists they might be; they were not, as Granvelle averred, disloyal to their sovereign in refusing to submit to the execution of a despotic policy by an overbearing prelate. Nevertheless, in their stern opposition to his minister, Philip correctly enough divined the spirit of opposition to himself. The struggle with the cardinal was, in fact, the prelude to the struggle with the king, whose vacillation and lack of resource had only strengthened the reactionary spirit.

Meanwhile Protestantism had been gaining ground in spite of exemplary burnings by papal inquisitors like Pieter Titelmann. The victims of this brutal and arbitrary functionary were numerous, but the heretic contagion spread like wildfire, and could not be stamped out. Granvelle is found bitterly complaining of the slackness of provincial stadholders, like Berghem, in enforcing the edicts. These fast-living lords were certainly not the men to play the *rôle* of inquisitor to humour an intolerant prelate whom they hated, or a royal bigot whose obnoxious instrument that prelate was. Orange himself at this period was at best but a latitudinarian in religion, as his marriage with a Lutheran princess shows. "The Catholics," says Pontus Payen, "reputed him a Catholic; the Lutherans a Lutheran." He certainly had not zeal enough to be a persecutor, though he might officially profess concern for the true faith in his principality of Orange. "He found fault with the severity of the theologians," adds the same contemporary witness, a Catholic, "esteeming it, like many Catholics, a cruel thing to put a man to death merely

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for an error of opinion." He favoured a compromise which should unite Catholic and Protestant, and in 1564 set some of the moderate divines on either side to work to find a basis of agreement. The effort miscarried, and the decision of the Council of Trent made such efforts more illusory than ever. But if the prince and many of his fellow-magnates were at this period either lukewarm or rational in religion, the people were in ever larger numbers rallying with passionate earnestness to the creed of Calvin. And—ominous portent for Philip and the bigots—the more numerous the disciples of Calvin or Luther, the louder the outcry for moderation or even for liberty of conscience. "I fear," wrote Viglius to Granvelle in August 1564, "much worse for the future in view of the expressions which one hears too freely uttered everywhere, some being for the moderation of the placards (edicts), others for liberty of conscience."

These Calvinists were most numerous in the Walloon provinces, but they were gaining adherents in Holland, Zealand, Utrecht. Congregations were already established in the chief towns of Brabant, Flanders, Hainault; in Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Tournay, Ypres, Valenciennes. A Calvinist synod met at Antwerp to promulgate the Belgic Confession. Antwerp was in fact already a Protestant city, and women about to become mothers migrated thither in order that their children might be born on Protestant soil. Calvinist preachers wandered through the land in spite of edicts and inquisitors, and won many recruits among the masses, if not among the higher classes, for the Protestant army. The lull in persecution, following the dismissal of Granvelle, favoured the labours of these clerical recruiting sergeants. To carry out the edicts to the letter, as Philip insisted, was now to risk revolt and anarchy. "Affairs," wrote Viglius to Granvelle in November 1564, "especially those of the religion, are daily going from bad to worse, and the authority of his majesty, which it will be difficult to re-establish, is losing greatly." It was in vain that intolerant ecclesiastics like the Archbishop of Cambrai cried out for the blood of all heretics, rich or poor, even if the country should go to ruin. A large part of the Catholic population was as hostile to the edicts as the heretics, and the hostile spirit of the people showed itself in attempts to rescue the victims of intolerance.

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Nor had the departure of the cardinal infused efficacy or harmony into the Council of State. The Orange party was opposed by the party of the Cardinalists, of which Berlaymont and Viglius were the leaders. Philip was not disposed to trust the men who had foiled his plans for the moment, and who pestered him with reform plans tending still further to thwart his autocratic policy. Orange desired to summon the States-General, to enlarge the Council of State, and augment its authority in the interests of better government, which, under Granvelle, had been corrupt to the core, to moderate, if not abolish, the edicts. With these demands, which he emphasised in a very pointed speech to the Council, Egmont was ultimately despatched to Spain in the beginning of 1565. Egmont was a dashing cavalier, but he made a poor envoy. He was as vain and shallow as he was brave and impulsive. The flatteries lavished by Philip and his ministers on the great cavalry general fairly turned his head, and after being feasted, flattered, lionised for several weeks, he departed with the intimation that Philip would rather die a hundred deaths than suffer heresy, and the injunction that the Council should consult with a number of theologians and jurists whether some device could be hit upon for putting heretics out of the way, so as to lessen the popular glory of martyrdom. As to the reforms desiderated, the king had formed no decision in the meantime.

The conference of theologians came to the conclusion that the edicts must be adhered to, with some trifling variations in the punishments inflicted, according to the grade of offence. The edicts should thus remain in force, and all dubiety on this point was dispelled by a peremptory rescript from Philip (October 1565) denouncing death to heretics "as required by all law, human and divine," and commanding the inquisitors to smite and spare not. The canons of the Council of Trent, the edicts, the Inquisition, were accordingly proclaimed throughout the provinces, and every one knew definitely that his life was at the mercy of a fanatic bigotry, which in this matter knew no law but that of force. "Now we shall see the beginning of a fine tragedy," said William of Orange, grimly. He spake truly. Instantly a wave of indignation swept the land, bursting into vehement protest as it surged. The cities

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of Brabant appealed to the "Joyeuse Entrée," the Magna Charta of the province, which the proclamation infringed. Still more vehement was the outcry of the section of the nobility led by Count Louis of Nassau, William's brother, Count Brederode, and Saint Aldegonde, who were in touch with the Calvinist preachers. Count Louis and Saint Aldegonde were men of high character. Brederode was a loose liver, and the hardest drinker of his day—the type of too many of his fellow-nobles. But, whether saints or sinners, these men were fierce foes of the bloody tyranny of the papal inquisitors, and denounced it in scathing terms as a barbarous travesty of all laws, human and divine. Under the manipulation of Orange, they calmed down sufficiently to express their sentiments in less violent language in a "Request" to the duchess to petition the king to revoke the edicts and stop the Inquisition meanwhile. With this request, and with Brederode for spokesman, they appeared at the palace at Brussels on the 5th April 1566. The request was resolute, but it was respectful, and the duchess, listening to the advice of Orange, promised to send the desired petition to the king, and to do her best to moderate the Inquisition pending the royal answer. With this reply "the Beggars," as Berlaymont contemptuously called Brederode's followers, ultimately professed satisfaction, and retired to celebrate their victory in a mighty carouse. The wine flowed freely under Brederode's auspices, as the confederates discussed the question of giving an appropriate name to their association. "They call us beggars," cried Brederode; "let us accept the name," and, putting on the leathern wallet of the professional beggar of the day, he raised his flowing bowl with the cry, "Long live the Beggars!" "Long live the Beggars!" echoed back from three hundred throats, and therewith was launched the battle-cry of a revolution and a free nation.

The battle was about to begin, but it was not these reckless, roistering young bloods that were to deal the first blow. The more forcible protest of the people was not long in coming. Its threatening attitude had already forced the Inquisition to resort to secret executions—to substitute nocturnal drownings in tubs for public burnings—and it now showed its defiance of the papal Inquisition by crowding in thousands to hear the

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sermons of the Protestant preachers in the fields outside Antwerp and other cities. To these preachings men came musket and pike in hand, and worshipped behind barricades of waggons. Force, it was now apparent, would be met by force, especially as the provisional moderation of the edicts merely substituted, with much show of clement verbiage, hanging for burning. "Murderation," instead of "moderation," was the facetious comment of a grateful people. The open-air preachings drew ever larger crowds nevertheless, and the confederates protested and petitioned once more.

Philip had, as usual, evaded answering the first petition with which the duchess had sent Berghem and Montigny to Madrid, whilst forwarding secret despatches to continue the crusade against heresy. While he thus deliberated and procrastinated, the people gave him a rude lesson in decision. In August the mob rioted into the cathedral of Antwerp, and smashed the images, relics, ornaments, with which the piety of centuries had adorned the magnificent structure. Every church and monastery in the city and neighbourhood was similarly denuded of its sacred furniture. Simultaneously this ultra-Protestant fury raged all over the provinces, with few exceptions. "In the space of three or four days," says Hopper, "more than four hundred churches were destroyed in Flanders." "The work was executed so suddenly in all places," notes Le Petit, "as well in Brabant as in Flanders, Holland, Zealand, and in other provinces, as if a thunderstorm, a thunderbolt, had passed over the land in the same instant." In one week nearly every saint in the Netherlands had been toppled from its niche and smashed or hewn in pieces. Every emblem and instrument of the Christian cult—crosses, pictures, organs, chalices, censers, finery—everything common and costly alike, was reduced to a rubbish heap. No horde of vandals could have done the work of sacking more thoroughly, if we except the fact that these ultra-Protestant vandals shed no blood, maltreated no living being, and contented themselves with wreaking their fury on marble and wood and the precious metals, and thus providing spoil for the rascal element associated with them in the enterprise. This good feature of the conduct of these rough fanatics deserves remembering, in view of the bloodshed and brutality of their persecutors,

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against which the work of destruction was an eloquent if outrageous protest. It was a fearful enough shock to orthodox feeling, a sad blow to art, but it was a mere freak of passion compared with the burning of men and the burying of women alive for a difference of religious opinion.

It was, however, a mistake in tactics, for which the mob, not the Protestant preachers, was responsible. It threw, indeed, the regent into a momentary panic, and wrested from her the boon of provisional freedom of worship for the heretics in towns where Protestant congregations had been established. There was much rejoicing at the news, and the reformers looked upon their cause as won. The nobles, however, dissolved their confederation, and many of them drew back from a movement which threatened to land the country in anarchy. Even Orange, whilst sympathising with the demand for religious reform, felt it his duty to punish some of the rioters of Antwerp with exemplary severity, whilst Egmont hanged those of Flanders by the score. The concession to the heretics was, moreover, only the makeshift of necessity, and merely threw the confederates off their guard, whilst the duchess wrote letters to Philip informing him of her desperate position, and denouncing Orange, Egmont, Horn as rebels and abettors of the heretics. Philip went almost mad with rage when he heard the news. "By the soul of my father," he swore, "it shall cost them dear." The iconoclasts were not rebels. They had no intention, in renouncing what they deemed idolatry, of rebelling against the king. To Philip, however, such sacrilege was worse than rebellion, and vengeance was now his watchword—vengeance on the rebel nobles who had dared to thwart his will, vengeance on the heretics who had raised their impious hands against God as well as His anointed. Vengeance had been his purpose all along, but that purpose was now stung into deadly activity. A Spanish army should be the instrument of his wrath, with Alva—the relentless Alva, who had long pressed for the heads of all who had opposed the royal will—to lead the crusade of extermination. Henceforth the duchess, who might still temporise on occasion, was merely a stopgap for Alva.

The coming of Alva, which this popular outburst hastened, marks the widening of the breach between the Spanish Philip

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and his subjects of the Netherlands. On the one hand we see the determination, lacerated into a passion, to enforce obedience to the royal will and the traditional Church, cost what it might. On the other, an equal determination on the part of a large section of the people to resist the coercion of conscience, and even to challenge the supremacy of the traditional creed, in spite of the defection or vacillations of a large number of those who had swelled the ranks of the aristocratic opposition. To this pass various factors had been steadily and surely operating. The Dutch revolution, of which this popular outburst was the prelude, was in its origin inspired by the determination of the Protestants to obtain liberty of conscience, and by the fierce reaction against a persecuting Church and Government. The religious motive was seconded by the aristocratic opposition to the autocratic *régime* of the hated minister of an alien king, and by the antipathy of Spaniard and Netherlander. It was intensified by the spirit of liberty which had survived the centralising policy of Charles the Bold and his imperial and royal successors, and had been nurtured by a long tradition of self-government. Philip's own lack of sympathy and insight, the vacillation and indecision, due partly to the difficulties of the situation, partly to the lack of the genius to rule, aggravated the friction between these restive Flemings and Dutchmen and the monarch whom they suspected as a despot and disliked as a foreigner. Moreover, to play successfully the *rôle* of autocrat over such a people, Philip should have lived at Brussels instead of Madrid, and should have been born with talents far above mediocrity. Mediocrity might lord it over priest-ridden Spain; it could not master these free-spirited men of the north, even with all the tenacity of religious fanaticism to second it.

SOURCES.—For the origins of the Reformation in the Netherlands—Ullmann, Reformatoren vor der Reformation in Deutschland und den Niederlanden (1841), translated by Menzies (1855); Froude, Life and Letters of Erasmus (1894); Seebohm, The Oxford Reformers (for Erasmus); Altmeyer, Les Précurseurs de la Reforme aux Pays-Bas (1886); Barry, Catholic Europe (from the Catholic point of view), in vol. i. of The Cambridge Modern History (1902). For the opposition

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CHAPTER XI.

Reformation and Revolution in the Netherlands—William of Orange and the Struggle against Despotism.

At this critical juncture neither the nobles nor the Protestants were united, and William found it impossible to unite either. Egmont and Horn drew back, and would not co-operate in William's plan of an armed league in defence of national rights against the coming Spanish tyranny. Calvinists and Lutherans refused to coalesce in the religious compromise which he urged. Nor would the Lutheran princes of Germany agree to an active alliance which did not include the supremacy of Lutheranism among its conditions. His overtures to the Huguenots and to Queen Elizabeth had no more promising results. The Calvinists formed the only party of action, but their efforts to meet betimes the danger of repression by armed resistance failed miserably. In the face of an impossible situation, for which his detractors, forgetting the horrors of over forty years of persecution, seek to make him responsible, he saw no expedient for the present but in exile. He refused to take an oath to serve the king in all things, without reservation or restriction, and resigned his seat in the Council and his governorship. After a last vain attempt at Willebroek to gain Egmont, whom he warned of his future fate, he joined the crowd of fugitives which was hieing across the Channel or the Rhine, and betook himself to Dillenburg, his old home in Nassau, in April 1567. In the same month Alva was already on the road from Spain to execute his mission of blood.

Alva came in August to supersede the duchess, and his coming was indeed that of the angel of death. Twenty-four thousand troops—ten thousand of them Spanish veterans—accompanied him to do the implacable will of the tyrant and the bigot. He was amply furnished in addition with all the

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resources that diabolic deceit, brutal cynicism, cold-blooded indifference to suffering, could lend him. In these respects he might stand as the original of Machiavelli's "Prince," to whom everything is permitted for State ends, State ends being in this case the supremacy of Spain and the vindication of Holy Church. To those of the magnates who had not the sagacity of William, to Egmont and Horn in particular, there was vouchsafed for a short time much show of benignity. It was abruptly terminated by their arrest at the conclusion of a council at Alva's residence at Brussels. For the trial of these, and all delinquents accused of treason, he established his Council of Troubles, more fitly named the Council of Blood, one of the most arbitrary and bloodthirsty courts in the history of despotism. Its function was to try all accused of any share in the late troubles. Its powers were absolute. It was limited by no law; it was superior to charter or privilege; the charge of treason was so comprehensive that not a soul that had taken any part, directly or indirectly, in the history of the previous seven years, in opposition to the Government, could possibly escape death. Of this monstrous tribunal Alva was president; Del Rio and De Vargas, other two Spaniards, the most influential members. Among the Netherlanders who distinguished themselves by consenting to be the tools of the president, Noircarmes, Berlaymont, and Hessels were the most conspicuous. Its inauguration in the autumn of 1567 was the beginning of a reign of terror comparable in method and brutality to that of revolutionary France fully two centuries later, though lasting far longer. For several years the procession of victims to the scaffold, or the gallows, or the stake, was unceasing. Alva did not hesitate to strike off the heads of such prominent magnates as Egmont and Horn. He outlawed Orange and other absentee nobles, and Philip secretly despatched Montigny, whom he sentenced to death, *in absentia*, in a Spanish dungeon. The victims of lesser rank or of no rank were executed in batches. From hundreds the number soon mounted up to thousands. There is no danger of exaggerating the figures, for Alva himself testified to the frightful volume of blood, yea, gloried in his *rôle* of butcher. There was indeed ample latitude of selection, and after the ferocious decree of the Inquisition denouncing death to all the

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inhabitants of the Netherlands as heretics, with some trifling exceptions, the chief difficulty was one of selection. It was, happily, a sheer impossibility to slaughter three millions of men, women, and children, though the miserable bigot at Madrid, and his savage viceroy in the Netherlands, believed that the mightier the torrent of heretic blood, the greater their merit in the sight of heaven. Nor was bigotry the only incentive to the bloody work. Alva had promised to turn Spainwards a golden stream a yard deep, and, in order to feed the stream, wealth was treason as well as heresy or sedition. Thus the most fanatic and the most sordid motives contributed to swell the holocaust to mammon and the savage deity of Philip and the Inquisition. The sickening total mounted up in the end to over eighteen thousand persons, as Alva himself, with exaggeration perhaps, proudly boasted. It is needless to enlarge on this gruesome business, whose details bring down the curse of God and man on its authors, and the honour and responsibility of which Philip and Alva openly and unreservedly took upon themselves. Let millions perish if only the autocratic will of one man and the theological jargon of the bloodstained bigots of the Inquisition may dominate over the wilderness made by torture, execution, confiscation, exile!

Inexplicable though it appears, even Alva has had his apologists and panegyrists. One of the most distinguished of these among modern historians, the German Leo, has striven hard to make a hero of him. Leo has certainly succeeded in producing a masterpiece of wrongheadedness and *ex parte* statement; he has not succeeded in "whitewashing" Alva any better than another distinguished German historian has succeeded in whitewashing Tiberius. M. Gachard, whose special knowledge of the period entitles him to speak with a far higher authority than the eccentric German, has painted the picture of Alva's *régime* in its true colours. The colouring is sombre enough, but it is not overdone. "The arrival of the Duke of Alva and the Spanish army in these provinces was followed by a series of arbitrary acts and oppressive measures. The Counts of Egmont and Horn treacherously arrested and shut up in a narrow prison; a crowd of gentlemen and burghers partaking their fate; the Count of Buren (William's

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son) carried away from Louvain, in defiance of the privileges of the university, and transported into Spain; the courts of justice and the magistrates deprived of their jurisdiction; an extraordinary tribunal erected to examine the delinquencies committed during the troubles; confiscation proclaimed as a principle, not merely against the condemned but against suspects, against those whose only crime was to seek in foreign lands a refuge from tyranny; the right of life and death exercised by the Duke of Alva—for the Council of Troubles only tried the accused, whilst the duke retained the power of pronouncing sentence, an abominable monstrosity of which we seek in vain for a second example in our history—an authority without bounds in the hands of a man who knew no law but his own will; everywhere distrust, intimidation, stupor, &c., the natural consequence of the system of government just inaugurated, the stagnation of commerce, the blight of industry, the misery of the labouring classes,—such was the spectacle which the Netherlands offered at the beginning of 1568."

Alva ere long discovered that the Netherlanders were not disposed to submit tamely to the brutal *régime* thus inaugurated. The old spirit of freedom was relighted by the friction with tyranny. Alva had not reckoned with the dourness of the Protestant character, the rigidity of the Protestant conscience, the dare-devil spirit of Protestant zeal in this northern clime. In Holland and Zealand especially, every fresh outrage was one more nail driven into the coffin of Spanish domination, one more germ that was to blossom into the fruit of revolution and liberty. In the long struggle between force and freedom there was a commingling of motives which worked out the grand result, but, as I have already said, the most potent was undoubtedly the religious one. Religious conviction it was that nerved men to risk everything in defence of their faith. Without the martyrs, the stern heroism that threw defiance in the face of the Spanish tyrant would have lacked its strongest inspiration. The wave of religious exaltation, roused by the Reformation, was the initial condition of the Dutch revolution. Religious liberty was the mightiest ally of political liberty, and, happily, the Netherlanders had in addition the tradition of a long past of manful

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struggle for political rights to intensify the resistance to the bloody tyranny over the conscience. The southern provinces might indeed be stupefied by Alva's Council of Blood, but the tax of the tenth penny drove even the Walloon provinces into line with Holland and Zealand, and lent its quota of strength to the revolutionary movement. Happily, too, Alva found his match, if not in arms, at least in resource, in the man whom Providence had destined to be the founder of a new State, as well as the vindicator of human rights. In William of Orange the Netherlanders possessed a leader who never knew what it was to be beaten, and whose endurance and resource ultimately turned the tide of disaster into the tide of success. He had not been idle in his retirement at Dillenburg. He was busy not only in penning a justification of his past conduct against the charges of Alva, but in negotiating and organising. As the result of his activity, three forces raised by him, his brother Louis, Hoogstraten and others, boldly entered the provinces in the spring of 1568. The Huguenot attack on Artois failed disastrously; equally so that on Roermonde in the Maastricht district; but at Heiliger Lee, in Friesland, Count Louis inflicted a severe defeat on Aremberg. The victory was not a knockdown blow to tyranny, and it was speedily avenged by Alva himself at Jemmingen, where Louis' army was cut in pieces. But it proved the mettle of the Netherlanders when capably led, and it was the first of the fierce conflicts of eighty years in which that mettle was to maintain itself against tremendous odds, and finally overthrow the tyrant.

It is no part of our purpose to describe campaigns and battles, of which there were many in store before a free nation rose on the overthrow of Spanish tyranny. For years Orange and his confederates maintained what seemed a losing fight for liberty. The first of the expeditions personally led by him across the Rhine in the autumn of this year was a miserable failure, and ended in retreat to Strassburg. For the next two years he lived the life of an adventurer, serving for a time under Condé and Coligny in France, and then disappearing, few knew where. Even Dillenburg was no longer a safe retreat, and nothing seemed more impossible at this stage than that the furtive fugitive could live to found a new

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State in the fens of Holland and Zealand. Nevertheless, this fugitive, whom rumour pronounced to be dead, had not lost faith in his mission. He had, too, an irrefragable trust in Providence, and adversity only strengthened it. Religious conviction took a stronger grip of him. It was not, indeed, the conviction of the narrow partisan such as this contentious age produced on the Papist and Protestant side alike. By this time he had definitely seceded from the Catholic Church, which the cruelties of Alva discredited far more than the denunciations of a Luther or a Calvin, and had returned to the Lutheran creed in which he had been baptised. Lutheranism was but a transition to Calvinism, to whose dogmatic and democratic tendencies he had long been hostile. He became a Calvinist, as Henry IV. afterwards became a Catholic, by force of circumstances rather than by what is called conversion. Like Henry, too, he did not, in changing his religion, become a bigot. His striking characteristic was his trust in God rather than his belief in any formal system of doctrines. In this respect his faith was as unshakable as that of Calvin himself, if he made little account of sectarian differences of opinion, and was as averse to Protestant as to Papist persecution. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of his profession of the creed of Calvin. It is impossible to regard the man who clung so firmly and so persistently to his faith in God as a habitual hypocrite. The note of sincerity in such professions is unmistakable, especially as they were made in circumstances of trial that tested the character of the man to its very depths. Yet, while sincerely religious, he was a patriot first, a Calvinist second.

Moreover, this trust in Providence (and herein lies the historic importance of his creed) quickened the energy and resource which he brought to bear on what he came to regard as the cause of God as well as the cause of his country. It sustained the genius of the man who, without being a great soldier, was a born leader of men. His genius was that of the statesman, not of the general. He was a consummate politician. He could fight his enemies with their own weapons, beat them at their own game. He was more than a match for Philip himself in the diplomatic sleight-of-hand that constituted the statecraft of the age. He knew the contents of the

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secret despatches that Philip penned in his secret cabinet, or carried in his pocket when he retired to his bedroom at night. In intrigue, combination, he was inexhaustible, indomitable. He modified his combinations to suit the situation, though he never swerved from his great aim. To say that he was unscrupulous is to say that he lived in an age in which political morality was at a very low ebb indeed. Politicians in those days were professional plotters. From Madrid to Edinburgh they were engaged in hatching plot or counterplot in the struggle for supremacy or existence. Professions of honesty or friendship were mere veils of falsity or rascality. William did his share of this dirty diplomatic work, and yet managed to believe in Providence. He was the associate of so despicable a creature as Charles IX. against Philip, after, as well as before, the Massacre of St Bartholomew. He was forced to seek protectors wherever he could find them, and held out the conquest of the Netherlands as a bait for the self-interest of Charles or Elizabeth. For long the utmost he dared to hope for was that the Netherlands should be a dependency of France or England, or both, on terms which would at least guarantee it against a tyranny like that of Spain. Thus he plotted as well as prayed, and his justification lies in the fact that, without plotting, praying was, humanly speaking, useless. His enemies certainly did their share of both, and for a much poorer cause, and they had no right to reproach him with inconsistency or hypocrisy. They believed in Providence, and they did not scruple to offer rewards to assassins as well as torture and massacre thousands of innocent men, women, and children. William might stoop to devious courses, even in alliance with Providence, for the deliverance of an oppressed people. He did not pay miscreants to kill his enemies and deliver defenceless populations to massacre and outrage. He was as great an adept in dissimulation as the unscrupulous politicians with whom he had to fence. This might not be fair tactics from a high-minded standpoint—and the modern historian cannot always defend his integrity—but his opponents certainly had no reason, on grounds of personal probity, to complain of them.

To found a republic was not the aim of his policy of resistance to Alva. The republic did not, in fact, take shape

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till eight years after the baffled tyrant had left the scene of his work of blood and ruin. At first his policy was the same as that which had inspired opposition to Granvelle—hatred of religious persecution, hatred of the one man domination, which, in Alva, was synonymous with pure despotism. As the struggle progressed, it became more definite, decisively Protestant. He demanded as a minimum the restoration of ancient rights and privileges, the withdrawal of the Spaniards, the recognition of the reformed faith in accordance with God's word, and freedom of worship. The last was an absolutely impossible stipulation. Philip would never be the sovereign of heretics, and heretics were emphatically excepted from the so-called pardon so grandiloquently proclaimed by Alva in July 1570. Was not heresy the most malignant form of rebellion against the sovereign, the toleration of it the most fearful of sins against God? William, nevertheless, disclaimed the charge of rebellion. Religion, he insisted, is a matter of conscience, and with a noble anticipation of the future he denied the right of prince, priest, or minister to persecute, and opposed the Calvinist zealots who clamoured for the suppression of Catholicism with pains and penalties. To obey God rather than man was a duty which even Papist theologians admitted when it suited them; and if such obedience was no rebellion in a Papist, it is not easy to see why it should be rebellion in a Protestant. And no one had a better right to appeal to the supreme voice of conscience in this matter than the man who was himself so free from the rampant bigotry of the age.

Even on political grounds, he professed himself innocent of rebellion. He fights, not against his sovereign but the irresponsible tyranny of his sovereign's representative. He recognises the legal authority of Philip, and is willing to maintain it. He distinguishes between the sovereign and his representative. It was in reality a distinction without a difference. William knew well enough that Alva was Philip. Had he not brought a trunkful of blank warrants to which the king's signature was affixed, and on which he could write the arbitrary sentences and decrees of his despotic will? Did not Philip rejoice grimly in Alva's Council of Blood and its horrible doings? Had he not confirmed the monstrous decree

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that doomed a whole nation to death? Alva was indubitably Philip, and it was only by a transparent fiction that William was enabled to distinguish their non-identity. The distinction was, of course, a stroke of policy, but it was one that he was amply entitled on constitutional grounds to make as long as he chose to do so. Tried by the provincial charters, the government of a raving cut-throat like Alva was not the legitimate government of the Netherlands. The Council of Blood, the Spanish army, the grinding taxation, were the expedients of an enemy of the State, and consequently of the sovereignty of the State as represented by Philip. Resistance to the enemy was, therefore, no rebellion. If he could have brought Philip to accept this constitutional doctrine by force or persuasion, there would have been no Dutch Republic. It was only after Philip irrevocably stood by his ban against the prince, only after it was impossible to reconcile his despotism with the liberties for which William and his fellow-patriots risked extermination, that the "rebel" became an avowed and uncompromising revolutionist. Before this he had indeed offered the allegiance of the revolted provinces to Elizabeth or the King of France in return for an effective protection, but he was still prepared to leave the door of repentance open to Philip. It was only after the door was finally slammed by an act of solemn and uncompromising defiance that he and his followers discarded for ever the profession of allegiance to an incorrigible tyrant.

The marvel is that he and his fellow-patriots did not succumb long before this ever-memorable climax. Time and again he found himself checkmated and outmanœuvred. Time and again his plans broke down, and he stood at bay against stark impotence. He had to reckon not only with the craft and might of Philip, but with the shiftiness of Elizabeth, the falsity of Charles IX., the lukewarmness of his German friends. His staying power in the face of the frequent *impasse* presented by the situation seems almost superhuman, and to it is due in great part the triumph of his lifework. It was this that wore out his enemy. He knew how to prevent a losing cause from becoming a lost cause until it became a winning cause, and this by sheer strength of will, sheer resource in grappling with overwhelming situations. The struggle was

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for years merely a question how long he could dodge destruction. Happily he had, in the tenacity, the love of liberty of his Dutch compatriots, an unfailing source of strength. Without these factors to work with, William's career would have been a heroic but a hopeless tragedy. The expedition of 1572, in reliance on the co-operation of Coligny, was as disastrous a failure as that of 1569. The Massacre of St Bartholomew, the strategy of Alva drove him once more a fugitive across the Rhine, and forced his brother Louis and his Huguenot followers to capitulate at Mons. The fugitive found a refuge at Delft in Holland; and here, in those Dutch fens on the fringe of the ocean, he stood at bay with his heroic Hollanders, and baffled all the efforts of Alva and his successors, Requesens, Don John, and Parma, to dislodge him. Henceforth, as he wrote to his brother John, "he was determined to retire to Holland and Zealand for the maintenance of the cause, and to make his grave there." The capture of Brill and Flushing some months before (April 1572) by the wild Sea Beggars, gave him the command of the sea. This exploit is celebrated by Motley as the laying of the foundation stone of the Dutch Republic. The conclusion is, of course, an exaggeration. The foundation stone of the Dutch Republic is rather the Union of Dordrecht, where the Estates of Holland met three months after the attack on Brill, and, identifying themselves with William's policy, solemnly recognised the Prince of Orange as the lawful representative of their sovereign, granted him in this capacity a subsidy in aid of the war against the tyranny of Alva, agreed to tolerate both religions, and undertook not to make terms with Philip except by mutual consent (July 1572). William did not altogether approve the exploit of Luiney and Treslong in seizing Brill. He did not yet perceive the strength which the wild Sea Beggars could bring to his cause. He still believed that liberty might be conquered by invasions with German and Huguenot levies. He soon learned to think otherwise. It was from the sea, and especially from the Batavian fens, that Spain was to be worsted; not by pitched battles with raw and mutinous troops against the best drilled soldiers of the age. The exploit of Luiney and Treslong was, in truth, the first check to the Spanish domination, the first substantial success for the patriot cause. The seizure of Brill was an accident,

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the desperate stroke of a small band of corsairs in search of provisions and plunder, whom persecution or the love of booty had driven to the sea, and to whom Elizabeth, at Alva's instigation, had denied the shelter of English seaports. But the accident brought into play a mighty force in this great drama, and contributed to rally the maritime provinces in unbending devotion behind their refugee stadholder. The narrow strip of meadow land and swamp, that stretches from the mouth of the Scheldt to the Zuyder See, was henceforth the scene of a struggle in which the most ferocious and the most exalted passions contributed to modern history some of its most thrilling as well as its most tragic chapters.

Alva avenged the ill-fated expedition of 1572 by the atrocities of Mons, Mechlin, Zutphen, and Naarden. Torture, massacre, plunder, confiscation, and bestial outrage marked his progress towards the fenland where the great rebel was bracing every nerve for a last stand. Behind him was a bloodstained waste, before him but a few towns in a flat land which seemed to offer no serious obstacle to the advance of his terrible legions, 30,000 strong. And yet that flat strip of land, which only the exertions of centuries had won from the sea, and only the energy of its stout inhabitants had preserved from submersion, was destined to be the grave of Philip's policy and power. Haarlem, indeed, surrendered after defying starvation, pestilence, and the repeated attacks of the finest army of the age for several months of superhuman endurance throughout the winter and early summer of 1573. Its women as well as its men fought and suffered with the most splendid heroism, in the hope of relief which never came. Every effort to this end by water and land was vain, but its reduction on the 12th July 1573 cost Don Frederick, Alva's son and lieutenant, 12,000 men, and he was forced to retire with further diminished numbers from Alkmaar (8th October), before the indomitable resolution that cut the dykes and brought the water of the North Sea into his camp. "There never was such a war as this," wrote the baffled Alva disconsolately to his master at Madrid.

It was indeed a war of surprises to generals who had not reckoned with the power of patriotism in alliance with the sea, and who were forced to learn their art over again from an insignificant people of fishermen, peasants, and merchants.

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To repel the attacks of Dutch skirmishers on the ice or in the swamps, Don Frederick had to train his men to manœuvre on skates and march and fight up to their necks in water. These "men of butter," at whom Alva had sneered on his advent in the Netherlands, were proving far less malleable than the men of iron, whom, as he boasted, he had known how to tame. Worse still, Don Frederick's soldiers mutinied, and could not be trusted to face famine and submersion in these treacherous fens. Leyden, which was next invested, held stoutly out, and in the same month Admiral Bossu was worsted and taken prisoner by Dirkzoon's patriot fleet in the Zuyder See (October 1573). Alva was palpably baffled. "God and man are against me," exclaimed he bitterly as he faced the *impasse* which his tyranny and the heroism of the Dutch patriots had begotten. The long struggle had sapped his strength, and he was the object of the unutterable hatred which his atrocities and his arbitrary taxation had inspired throughout the desolated provinces. The Council of Blood was bad enough; it outraged every principle of just government. The arbitrary tax of a tenth penny, or ten per cent., on all sales meant material ruin as well. Business came to a standstill. But it meant ruin to Alva at the same time, for the stagnation of trade paralysed the nerves of government. His departure on the arrival of his successor, Requesens, in November 1573, was a flight rather than a withdrawal.

Requesens, grand commander of Castile and ex-governor of Milan, came to an impossible task. An empty exchequer, a ruined country, a mutinous army of sixty thousand men, the spirit of revolt spreading even into the Catholic provinces, did not hold out much prospect of improving on Alva's failure. He tried to throw the patriots off their guard by negotiation, but William knew too well that the change of tactics was but a blind. As long as a heretic remained in the Netherlands, there could be no lasting peace with the Spanish bigot. It was his fixed idea that Philip would never keep faith with him or his heretic adherents. He was willing to negotiate, if negotiations could bring about a durable settlement on the basis of adequate guarantees for the maintenance of the rights stipulated. But he had no faith in the diplomatic protestations of Philip's representatives, and he was determined to

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struggle on, in the conviction that it was preferable to suffer and risk all for the great cause rather than be beguiled into its betrayal. He bade St Aldegonde, who pressed him to patch up an accommodation, remember the maxim of the Council of Constance, that no faith is to be kept with heretics. His appeal to history in support of his contention was only too well founded.

The artifice failed, and the advent of Requesens changed nothing, though it interspersed a lengthy and fruitless diplomatic campaign with the gigantic conflict by sea and land. Diplomacy was not to decide the issue of that conflict, in which not merely national antagonisms but divergent political principles were involved. William and his heroic Hollanders fought for Protestantism and political liberty; Philip and his representatives for political and religious despotism. Philip and William stood on the opposite sides of the impassable gulf made by the Reformation in the history of the nations, and every attempt to bridge it by such expedients as the Religious Peace of Passau and the Edict of Nantes was but a makeshift. William the Silent read correctly the future as well as the present when he clung to his minimum, and refused to entertain any accommodation short of it. The Thirty Years' War and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes amply justify his foresight and his firmness. He was in reality championing the liberties of Western Europe as well as of these small half-drowned provinces. If Holland succumbed, Germany, and even England, would, he believed, sooner or later be exposed to a like fate. The Armada and the Thirty Years' War were to show that he had correctly read the drift of events. If England did not succumb to the Invincible Armada, she had to thank the heroism of these tough Hollanders whom Elizabeth patronised and forsook by turns, as well as the strength of her own resources in her hour of peril. It was the tenacity of these Hollanders that wore down the power of Spain, and weakened the blow that Philip at length struck across the Channel.

Meanwhile, William and his heroic Hollanders and Zealanders were left to rely on their own indomitable pluck and what help they could wring, through Louis of Nassau, from the French king, whom the prospect of conquest at Philip's

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expense tempted to the rescue. Their pluck was proved once more in Admiral Boisot's victorious encounter with a Spanish fleet at Romerswaal on the Scheldt. As the result of this exploit Mondragon was forced to surrender Middelburg. The patriots were now indisputable masters of the sea-coast from the Scheldt to the Helder. About midway between these extremities, and some distance inland, lay Leyden, and round Leyden the Spaniards coiled their serried ranks to cannonade or starve it into surrender. Count Louis' ill-starred attempt to relieve it with a force of mercenaries, raised with French money, was frustrated at Mookheath (Mookerheide), where his mutinous army was outmanœuvred and annihilated by Avila, and its hapless leader and his brother Henry slain (April 1574). It was a fell stroke that deprived William at once of two brothers—the chivalrous, indefatigable Louis, best of them all—and of all hope of succour on land. But even this *coup de massue* did not crush him, as appears from his spirited letter to his only surviving brother John. "I told you formerly that we could maintain this country for the space of two years against all the forces of the King of Spain, but that after that period we should necessarily stand in need of succour, unless God should, as He has done hitherto, sustain our cause without human succour (I speak humanly). Seeing that the two years are about to expire, it is high time that some princes and potentates should hold out to us a helping hand. If none of them will come to the rescue, and for want of succour we shall be undone, let it be so in the name of God. There shall always remain to us the honour of having done that which no other nation has done before us, to wit, the defence and maintenance, in a small country, of a great cause, against the great and horrible enterprises of so powerful enemies without any assistance whatsoever. And if the poor inhabitants of this land, forsaken by all the world, will only continue in their determination, as they have done hitherto, and as I hope they will still do (and God will not deliver us over to destruction), it will cost the Spaniards more than the half of Spain, as well in goods as in men, before they shall have made an end of us."

To a man of this spirit even the disaster of Mookheath was not irremediable. Moreover, Louis' fateful advance had drawn off Valdez and his siege army from Leyden. The

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Spanish soldiers providentially mutinied on the morrow of the victory, and seized Antwerp as the gauge of their arrears of pay. Leyden enjoyed a respite of two months before Valdez closed in once more for the death grapple. By an oversight, which was to be atoned for by terrible suffering, the men of Leyden had neglected to take advantage of the interval to increase the garrison and store up provisions. For four fearful months, famine, combat, pestilence preyed upon the devoted city. For four fearful months these heroic men and women waited for the issue—relief, or death by starvation—fighting the while. Surrender was out of the question. "Take my body to appease your hunger," cried the resolute burgomaster, Van der Werff, to the starving crowd that clamoured for capitulation, "but expect no surrender as long as I remain alive." At last, on the morning of the 3rd October, the Spanish army was nowhere to be seen, and the houses of Leyden seemed to float on the sea. It had fled during the night before the rushing waters of the spring tide which had brought Admiral Boisot's flat-bottomed fleet fifteen miles across the land to the rescue.

The great deliverance confirmed the faith of the patriots in their cause and in their leaders. Instead of allowing themselves to be beguiled by Requesens' overtures, the Estates of Holland showed their determination to continue the struggle to the bitter end by augmenting the powers of their stadholder. They conferred on him "absolute power, authority, and sovereign command," made him dictator, in fact, for the time being (nominally, of course, under Philip), and granted 45,000 florins a month for the conduct of the war (15th November 1574). Six months later those of Zealand assented, and the two provinces were thus formally united in a definite policy of resistance. It looked for a time, however, as if the union must be shortlived. By a series of daring exploits in the autumn of 1575, Requesens drove a wedge of Spanish garrisons right into Zealand, and at last secured a hold on the sea-coast at Schouwen. His troops tramped in the darkness across the two estuaries, five feet deep, that separate Duivenland from Tholen on the one side, and Schouwen on the other, storming and massacring as far as the edge of the North Sea. The resistance of Zierickssee, the principal town

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of Schouwen, was being slowly worn down by Mondragon during the winter of 1575-76, and Holland and Zealand were rent asunder.

Once more the outlook for the patriots became desperate, and Orange, with the approval of the Estates, now made serious offers of the sovereignty of the provinces to Elizabeth. Elizabeth declined, and William then turned to the Duke of Alençon, in the hope of buying the protection of France at the price of transferring their allegiance from Philip to the brother of Henry III. This negotiation was equally barren, and he is said to have conceived the desperate idea of collecting a vast fleet to carry a whole people with their goods and chattels to some land of refuge across the ocean, after consigning the Dutch flats to that element from which their forefathers had won it. The scheme, if it really floated through his mind, was only the suggestion of a pessimistic moment. His letters show no sign of waning courage, no faltering of faith in Providence. Even before the capture of Zierickzee the sky began to clear once more. Requesens was cut off by a fever in March 1576, and the government of Philip was paralysed by the sudden event. At William's instigation, Viglius, Berlaymont, and several other members of the Council of State, which for the nonce immediately represented the sovereign, were arrested and imprisoned on the 4th September. Worse still, Philip was not only without a government, but without an army, for the terrible mutiny, which culminated in the Spanish Fury at Antwerp, had broken out. The men who had waded and fought their way to the ocean claimed their reward in the wholesale pillage of the richest city on earth. And Antwerp was not the only victim of the horrible orgy of loot and debauchery. From Schouwen backwards into Brabant and Flanders the mutinous host swelled and ebbed to and fro, spreading terror, carnage, destruction, hatred, in its track before it spent its fury on the great emporium on the Scheldt.

It was now the turn of the southern provinces to experience what the military despotism, which Philip and his representatives called government, meant. They did not relish the experience throughout that awful summer, and it at last maddened them into revolt, and forced them, Catholic though

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they had remained, to hold out the hand of fellowship to the Calvinist rebels of Holland and Zealand. In this emergency William saw his grand opportunity. Not only did it afford a pretext for the arrest of the more obnoxious Councillors of State, who had vainly tried to assuage the popular wrath by proscribing the mutinous soldiers; the union of Holland and Zealand, confirmed and completed, on the basis of liberty of conscience by the Estates at Delft (April 1576), became the nucleus of the wider union which for a brief period focussed the resentments and grievances of the other provinces in a general revolt. The result was the congress of the States-General at Brussels, and the Pacification of Ghent (8th November 1576), which bound the contracting provinces to expel the Spaniards, suspended all edicts against heresy, struck a truce in the matter of religion, with guarantees against the persecution of Catholics in the Calvinist, of Protestants in the Catholic provinces, and recognised the prince, meanwhile, as king's lieutenant and commander of the confederation, pending another meeting of Estates.

Thus the two religious parties at length, by force of circumstances, recognised the great principle of toleration for which William had so long fought. If the contracting parties could continue loyal to this principle, there was little more to be feared from Philip and the Inquisition. In the new governor-general, Don John, his natural brother and the hero of Lepanto, Philip found another great soldier who had imbibed the spirit of the crusader in the wars against the infidel Turks and Moors, and was only too eager to employ his military talents in smiting the heretics of the north. But Don John was a very light champion indeed to pit in political duel against the great patriot statesman who now appeared master of the situation. Moreover, if two small provinces had resisted the might of Spain for ten years, it was certain that the united strength of seventeen would speedily put the copestone to the work of deliverance for all that Don John could do to prevent it. Unfortunately, union on the basis of toleration proved an impossible policy. Calvinist and Catholic could not long continue to ignore their religious shibboleths for the sake of great political ends, and

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presently fell to quarrelling and persecuting in spite of William's irenic exhortations and efforts.

For a time, however, the compromise seemed to work well enough. Don John was forced to ratify the Pacification by a Perpetual Edict and withdraw the Spanish troops as the condition of his admission into Brussels. A few weeks of the attempt to govern in Philip's behalf on such terms proved both the impossibility of the task and the unfitness of the splendid cavalier, whose romantic brain projected the conquest of England as the preliminary to the hand of the captive Mary of Scots, for his new *rôle*. William, who was not satisfied with the terms of the Perpetual Edict, and had no trust in Philip's compromise with heretics, certainly did nothing to help to make him shine in the art of government, as he had shone in that of war. He was sceptical of royal concessions and professions of benignity after the grim experience of royal despotism for ten years of undiluted woe, and the memory of Alva's *régime* might well have made a sceptic of the most credulous royalist. Even if Don John was personally sincere, he was only a stopgap. Hence the attitude of alert suspicion, the policy of outwitting, thwarting, baiting the Don, through the States-General, into retreat and defiance. "Don John," says Mr Groen van Prinsterer, who evidently believes in his sincerity, "wished to govern with mildness, and his adversaries, directed and encouraged by the Prince of Orange, succeeded, by the most alarming suggestions and the most outrageous suspicions, by excessive pretensions, by unmerited reproaches, humiliations, insults, conspiracies, in discrediting him, in paralysing his efforts, in irritating his *amour propre*, in destroying his authority, in keeping him in perpetual fear for his life and liberty, and finally in forcing him to seek safety, with the bit between his teeth, in a stroke of despair." This may be a true delineation of the tactics of the opponents of Don John. It is not the less evident that he was attempting an impossible task, as long as a single reservation existed in the mind of his master that might lead to a renewal of Spanish despotism, while his sincerity in attempting a reconciliation is open to grave suspicion. Besides, as M. Volkaersbeke remarks, "Too much blood had already been shed to arrest a revolution." The spirit of revolt had

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been lacerated in many a bloody encounter in these Dutch fens into the spirit of revolution, and when concession is a sign of weakness it does not tend to induce belief in your adversary's generosity or sincerity. There was, indeed, always room for distrust, and William's distrust was irrefragable. "Don John," said he, "means to deceive us," and from this conviction nothing would move him, though he would gladly have seen an end of the tragedy of the last ten years in a durable peace. He had no reason to mistake in Philip's representatives paragons of honour or humanity, and his memory was too loaded with horrors to stop short of the most absolute guarantees of good faith. "So many horrible examples and acts, fresh in our minds," said he to Junius, "suffice to teach us that all those who have meddled in such treaties of peace have not earned honour, but rather blame." Even Groen van Prinsterer, who, in spite of his admiration for William, seeks, with perhaps an excess of impartiality, to vindicate Don John, and even Philip, admits that "a reconciliation with the king, whatever its conditions, would, sooner or later, have brought about a fatal result for the cause of reform."

Don John himself was not ignorant where the knot of all his difficulties lay. "From the depth of Holland," as M. Gachard truly remarks, "the prince inspired, directed, what took place at Brussels." "The people," wrote the Don to Philip in despair, "are, as it were, entranced by him; they love him; they fear him; they desire him as their lord; they give him notice of everything, and take no resolution without consulting him." "I am as one crying in the wilderness," he added, after a few weeks' trial of his skill in statecraft. Whilst he withdrew, baffled, to Namur to begin the work of coercion over again (July 1577), William, at the summons of the States-General, entered Brussels in triumph to take the place from which his astuteness had ousted the raw cavalier politician. It was not his desire of power, but his distrust of a lasting peace, as long as Philip was not hopelessly beaten to the ground, that dictated his tactics. The Spanish troops had once before taken their departure, and yet in five years' time Alva and his Council of Blood held the miserable provinces in their vice. Philip's intercepted despatches showed

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plainly enough that he had by no means lost faith in the coming day of reckoning with these heroic Hollanders and Zealanders. Had these heroic Hollanders and Zealanders fought and endured for ten years merely that the irreconcilable bigot and tyrant might gain time to recuperate for their destruction? Assuredly not, if William could help it. The great thing, in these circumstances, was to maintain the union of the provinces negotiated at Ghent, and William toiled hard to prevent his antagonist from dealing a counter stroke in this direction. The task ultimately proved too difficult for his diplomatic powers, and if he outwitted the shallow Don John into retreat he outwitted himself in his confidence that he could hold the provinces together in permanent alliance on the basis of toleration. He was almost alone in his consistent adherence to this great principle. He was prepared to tolerate even the Anabaptists in spite of the opposition of the trustiest of his associates like St Aldegonde. His consistency in the cause of real as opposed to sectarian liberty of conscience drew upon him the distrust and dislike of the bigots of both creeds. The Catholic nobles and prelates of the Belgian provinces, who followed the Duke of Aerschot, were, moreover, envious of his power as well as hostile to his creed, and invited the Archduke Mathias of Austria to assume the post of governor in place of Don John. William parried the move by concurring in the nominal rule of the harmless lad, and retained the real direction of affairs as his lieutenant-governor. The mass of the people willingly submitted to his rule as the only alternative to the misgovernment of the previous ten years. He found in the people, in fact, his chief stay against a shifty and factious aristocracy. His second entry into Brussels in his capacity of lieutenant-governor was greeted with renewed popular acclamation. He was to all appearance dictator, not of two insignificant provinces but of the united Netherlands, with the democracy, if not the aristocracy, of Flanders and Brabant as well as Holland and Zealand at his back. He was supreme in the States-General, which, in the agreement with the Archduke Mathias, had assumed the sovereign function vindicated by the Great Privilege a century earlier. He had at last succeeded in concluding a treaty of alliance with Queen Elizabeth, who

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bound herself to furnish men and money to help the patriot cause.

But the religious rancour had been only scotched, not killed, by the Pacification, as the outburst at Ghent, where a democratic Calvinist party seized Aerschot, governor of Flanders and leader of the Catholic reactionary party, plainly demonstrated. William, in fact, committed the blunder of clandestinely encouraging this ominous outbreak as a handy manœuvre against Aerschot's intrigues, though he subsequently strove to assuage the tyranny of the Calvinist demagogues whom he had at first secretly patronised. The volcano of bigotry was by no means extinct, and it was in the midst of these portents of the renewed eruption of the anarchic passions at work within that Don John, with the reinforcements brought him by his nephew, Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, dealt the crushing blow to the patriot cause at Gemblours (31st January 1578). The rout of Gemblours was the cavalier's stunning answer to the tactics that had driven him from Brussels. The diplomatic duel gave place once more to the duel of battle and siege, and in this duel the skill of Parma, whom Don John, on his death shortly after (October 1578), had nominated his successor, told decisively against William's scheme of an united Netherlands. In Parma he found an antagonist who could fence in the diplomatic arena as skilfully as he could fight in the field. In vain did William and the States-General, which were forced to retire by the rout of Gemblours from Brussels to Antwerp, strive to rally the provinces by a more explicit declaration on the subject of toleration (Peace of Religion, July 1578), and by placing the Duke of Alençon-Anjou in the breach with the title of "Defender of the Liberty of the Netherlands." Equally vain the advent of the young Duke Casimir, son of the Calvinist Elector of the Palatinate, as the champion of the Calvinists of Flanders and Brabant. Anjou and Casimir, let alone Mathias, were no match for Parma, and ere long retired. The English alliance proved an illusion. Treachery too was doing its subtle work in the patriot league. The Peace of Religion only aggravated the religious strife. The Calvinist democrats of Ghent and other Flemish cities sacked the churches, murdered or maltreated priests and monks, and denounced

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William as an atheist. The Catholic malcontents of Hainault and Artois cursed the Peace, and persecuted the Protestants. In Guelderland, John of Nassau, patriot and stadholder, would not hear of liberty of worship or even of liberty of conscience. The debacle of the policy of toleration was thus complete. In Holland and Zealand the particularistic spirit concerned itself more with provincial than national interests. The hope of an united Netherlands on the basis of constitutional liberty and religious compromise was already shattered.

Equally ominous, Parma was steadily winning back town after town, steadily advancing northwards and eastwards towards the sea. "A veritable chaos," as the Landgrave of Hesse lamented, engulfed the land. William's scheme of an union on the basis of constitutional and religious liberty disappeared in the vortex of religious passions, political intrigue, and renewed war, nevermore to rise to the surface. Yet out of this chaos rose at least the partial union which was to prove the solid foundation of a free State, great and glorious beyond the most sanguine dreams of any living patriot. This foundation was laid in the Union of Utrecht in January 1579. It was the reply of the northern provinces to the Union of Arras, by which the Walloon provinces in the same month broke with the States-General as directed by William, and prepared to make terms with Parma. The Utrecht Union was the work of John of Nassau rather than of William, who only gradually veered away from the policy of the larger league, and still cherished the hope of shaping chaos by the help of France and Alençon-Anjou. John of Nassau was in this matter more prescient than his brother, and under his auspices the defenders of Holland, Zealand, Guelderland, Zutphen, Utrecht, Friesland, and the Ommelanden solemnly agreed to form a closer union for the defence of religion and liberties. The deputies accordingly resolved "to unite themselves for ever as if they were one province, for their mutual defence against any enemy, foreign or domestic, but without prejudice to the privileges, rights, laws, customs of each province, town, and inhabitant." To this end a general imposition should be levied, fortresses built, garrisons maintained, and the inhabitants drilled in arms. No general

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taxes should be levied, no treaty of peace or declaration of war be made, without the common consent of the provinces. In case of lack of unanimity in these important matters, the governors of provinces should act as arbitrators. No single province might contract an alliance without the approval of all, and all should use the same coinage. In regard to religion, Holland and Zéaland should be free to act as they pleased, the other provinces as they should find expedient for the commonweal, subject, however, to the stipulation, in accordance with the Pacification of Ghent, that no individual should be molested on the score of religion. Any province professing the Catholic religion should be eligible as a member of the union, provided it submitted to the conditions of the confederation. All provincial officials from the governor downwards should swear to maintain these conditions, and any subsequent modifications must be made by common consent. The deputies of the provinces should assemble at Utrecht whenever summoned, and their decisions should be held binding on any absent members, who, however, might send written proxies.

This memorable document was signed by John of Nassau for Guelderland and Zutphen, and by the deputies of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, and the Frisian provinces. The adhesion of Ghent, Antwerp, Bruges, and several other cities of Brabant and Flanders was subsequently added. It established a defensive confederacy or bond, not a free State. It simply posited the conditions of united action, in furtherance of a certain policy. It was the work of a party, not of a people, and this party did not yet go the length of disclaiming the authority of Philip. It established no theory of the State, attempted no alteration of the ancient provincial constitutions and usages. Nevertheless, it virtually created a State within the State, and it needed only the disavowal of allegiance to the Spanish Philip to transform this *imperium in imperio* into an independent commonwealth. This consummation—the climax of fifteen years of struggle—was not long in coming. The attempt to negotiate a compromise with Philip's representative, the Duke of Terranova, through the mediation of the Emperor Rudolf II., at Cologne in the spring of 1579, only demonstrated once more, in spite of months of sophistry and

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subtlety, the impossibility of Spanish rule over a people of patriots and heretics. Philip would not recognise heresy outside Holland and Zealand, and there only on sufferance.

Parma meanwhile stormed Maastricht (June 1579), in spite of the heroic resolution that kept him for several months at bay, and emulated the exploits of his predecessors in butchery and bestiality. The treachery of Rennenberg, the stadholder of Groningen, put in his hand another important city without striking a single blow, and the attempt of Hohenlohe to compel its surrender was frustrated by the relief force, which routed him on Hardenberg Heath (June 1580). And, at last, in the same month Philip hurled the ban which should crush the arch heretic and rebel, and expedite Parma's work of coercion. The ban denounced the prince as a rebel and fomenter of rebellion, a heretic, and an encourager of sacrilegious heretics, a hypocrite, a traitor, and a foreigner, outlawed and banished him, interdicted all communication with him, forbade all to supply him with the means of life, empowered all to seize him and his goods as "an enemy of the human race, and a pest of Christendom," and offered a reward of 25,000 gold crowns and a patent of nobility to any one who should assassinate him.

Instead of being unnerved, as Granvelle prognosticated, by this blast of royal wrath, William treated the ban as mere bluster, and in his "Apology" gave back as good as he got. The "Apology" is, in truth, one of the most sweeping denunciations of tyranny ever penned. William for once threw off his habitual self-restraint, and fired a salvo of scorn and criticism which completely demolished his enemy. Such outbursts were by no means rare in this age of unscrupulous and inhuman tyranny. In every land where tyranny was writing its history in the blood of patriots and martyrs the maledictions of miserable humanity were hurled against the oppressor. Anonymous pamphlets bore from the secret printing presses the bitter protests of outraged human nature. The "Apology" is no mere anonymous pamphlet, though it was perhaps actually written by William's chaplain, De Villiers. It embodies the ideas and sentiments of the greatest statesman of his time, and it was read and discussed in every court of Europe. Philip was certainly ill advised to invite

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such a terrible exposure of himself and his Government before the civilised world, even if, as was natural, it was not couched in a judicial and strictly objective tone.

It is both a refutation and an attack, in which, of course, personalities abound. It refutes the charges of Philip, and arraigns him in turn at the bar of history and humanity. William exults at the outset in his proscription. It is only a testimony to his fidelity to a great cause, the defence of the liberty of his people against the Spanish oppressor. It, moreover, affords him an opportunity of making known to all the world the justice of that cause. Philip denounces his ingratitude. Ingratitude is a strange word to apply to the conduct of a man whose services to Philip's father and those of his ancestors to his dynasty were notorious historic facts. Philip calls him a foreigner, but have not his ancestors been for centuries powerful lords in the Netherlands long before a scion of the House of Habsburg became their duke, while Philip's ancestors were but petty counts in Switzerland? He calls him a demagogue. If to defend the liberties and privileges of the people be the *rôle* of a demagogue, he gladly accepts the glorious title. "I am, and always will be, on the side of the people." He calls him a rebel. He is no rebel. Resistance to an arbitrary king is no rebellion. The King of Spain has no absolute power over these provinces. He may be king in Spain, Naples, the Indies. In the Netherlands he is only a duke, whose power is limited by the charters he has sworn to observe, and from which no pretended absolution of the pope can free him. The word rebel sounds strange on the lips of a potentate who himself comes of rebellious stock. What, for instance, about that rebel, Henry of Trastamare, from whom Philip derives his Spanish crown, and who rose in arms against his own brother, Don Pedro? Don Pedro was in truth a cruel tyrant, but Philip has been guilty of an even more detestable tyranny. What, too, of that Habsburg count, another of his ancestors, who made war on the Emperor Adolf, from whom William is descended? But can that justly be called rebellion which consists in defending the liberties of one's country? If so, he rejoices in the name, and from the day that he learned from the lips of Henry II. himself the project of the wholesale massacre of his countrymen he has

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been the sworn foe of persecution. And then the long and bloody tale of the horrors of that persecution, that lawless tyranny, under the auspices of Philip's representatives, Granvelle, Margaret, Alva, Requesens, is recounted in order that the world may judge who is responsible for the miseries of these terrible years. If calumny could invent crimes, calumny, it is evident, could cut both ways. Verily it is not for Philip, who has murdered his wife and his son, and whose ministers deal in poison, to speak of crimes. It is not from the murderer and tyrant that he will take his fate. He does not fear Philip's assassins. He has been exposed to their deadly machinations for years past. Assassination may be accounted an honourable profession and lead to preferment in the Spanish court. His murderer may become a grandee. There is not a simple gentleman in any other country where true nobility is appreciated who would eat at the same table with the villain whom Philip undertakes to enrich and ennoble. His fate is in the hands of God, and he is ready to sacrifice his life for his country. Let the States-General, to whom the "Apology" is addressed, decide. "You see, gentlemen, that it is this head that they seek, on which they have placed so great a price, saying that as long as I live there will be no end of the war. Would God, gentlemen, that either my exile or my death would bring you a real deliverance from the many evils and calamities which the Spaniards contrive against you. Oh how sweet would death, banishment, be to me even at such a price! For why have I risked all my goods? To enrich myself? Why lost my brothers, whom I loved better than myself? To find others? Why left my son so long a prisoner? Can you restore him to me or give me another? Why placed my life so often in danger? What reward can I expect for the long labours which I have sustained for your sake till old age has come upon me, and in spite of the loss of all earthly possessions, unless to win liberty for you, if need be with my blood? If, therefore, gentlemen, you judge that my banishment or death may be of service to you, I am ready to obey. Command me, send me to the ends of the earth, I will obey. Behold my head, over which no prince or monarch has power, but only you. Dispose of it for your benefit, for the good and conservation of the republic. But if you judge that my

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mediocrity of experience, acquired by so long and arduous labour, that the remainder of my goods and my life can still be of service to you, resolve on the points which I propose to you. This done, let us go forward with one heart and will, embrace together the task of the defence of this good people, who only demand guidance in order to follow, and this doing, I hope, by the aid and grace of God, which I have so often experienced before now in difficult situations, that that which you resolve for the good and preservation of yourselves, your wives and children, in so holy, so sacred a cause—I will maintain it" (*Je le maintiendrai*).

The "Apology" did its work most effectively. It was presented to the States-General at Delft in December 1580. Seven months later, the States, this time assembled at the Hague, returned Philip a still more crushing answer. On the 26th July 1581 they solemnly promulgated the Act of Abjuration, which declared his sovereignty in the Netherlands at an end. It is indubitably one of the most important documents in modern history, and its preamble is worthy of quotation. "As is notorious to all, a prince is established by God as sovereign and chief of his subjects in order to defend and preserve them from all injuries, oppression, and violence, as a shepherd is ordained for the defence and preservation of his sheep. Subjects are not created by God for the benefit of the prince, so as to obey him in all things which he commands, whether pious or impious, just or unjust. They are not to serve him as slaves. On the contrary, the prince is created for the subjects, without whom he cannot exist, in order that he may govern them according to right and reason, maintain and love them as a father his children, as a shepherd his sheep, and risk his body to defend and watch over them. When he does not do so, but seeks to oppress them and take away their ancient customs and privileges, and lord it over them as slaves, he ought to be no longer regarded as a prince but as a tyrant. And his subjects are entitled, according to right and reason, no longer to recognise him as their sovereign—especially when such recognition is withheld by the deliberation and authority of the Estates—and may justly abandon him and choose another in his place. Such a contingency has usually taken place when the subjects have by their prayers, requests, re-

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monstrances, been unable to moderate the prince, and turn him away from his tyrannic enterprises and designs, so that there remains no other expedient than this for conserving and defending their ancient liberties, their wives, children, and posterity, for whom, according to the law of nature, they are obliged to risk their lives and goods. That men have been driven to act on this expedient against a tyrannic prince is sufficiently evident from many examples in history. Such is the case of these provinces, which from time immemorial have possessed the right to be governed in accordance with their privileges and ancient customs. This obedience has, moreover, always been conditional, and these conditions are expressed in contracts and sworn agreements. If the prince has violated these contracts, he has justly forfeited the sovereignty."

That Philip of Spain has violated the compact on which his authority rests, is amply evident from the indictment which follows. It is a bald narrative of the crimes and sufferings of the last twenty years, which are left to speak for themselves. For these crimes and sufferings Philip is responsible, and is therefore justly declared deposed from his sovereignty, and all officials of State and the whole people are loosed from their allegiance accordingly. Said officials shall henceforth recognise no authority but that of the United Provinces and of the prince to whom they have proffered the sovereignty on certain conditions (viz., Alençon-Anjou), except in Holland and Zealand, which, by a special arrangement, had conferred their sovereignty on the Prince of Orange.

The Act of Abjuration is interesting as an attempt to apply political theory to practice. The doctrines enunciated in its wordy preamble are not new. The conception of the contract, of the law of nature, of the right of resistance and deposition, of the sovereignty by divine ordinance, might have been taken from the mediæval writers. Or (and this seems to me very probable) they might have been borrowed directly from the "Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos," published two years before, viz., in 1579. Its reputed author, Hubert Languet, had been the collaborateur of William himself in the composition of his "Justification" against the sentence of outlawry fulminated by Alva in 1568, and had been his associate in negotiations almost up to his death in October 1581. Now

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the cardinal doctrine of the "Vindiciæ" is the contract as the basis of the State. Languet's is, in fact, the first modern attempt to elaborate the doctrine, though the idea itself had been mooted by some of the mediæval writers on politics. He emphasises, too, the right of the States-General, as representing the people, to punish its violation by the prince, and on this point equal stress is laid in the Abjuration. The political creed professed by the States-General of the Netherlands is, therefore, neither new nor original. Languet's work was the elaboration of a theory of the sovereignty of the people as represented by the States-General. It was a theoretic attempt to justify the resistance of the Huguenots to a persecuting king. It showed from Scripture, history, reason, that kings who break the contract justly forfeit the allegiance of their subjects. The Act of Abjuration is the explicit exemplification of this theory. It deposes an actual sovereign, releases a whole people from its allegiance, renounces the tyrant who has broken his pledged faith. In so doing the States-General assume the *rôle* of the mediæval pope, in defence of whose pretensions the schoolmen had sought to vindicate the rights of peoples. But, unlike the pope, they do not appeal to Heaven for the warrant to do so. They appeal to history, to natural law, to actual wrongs, for their warrant. It is enough for them that Philip has broken the contract, has been unfaithful to his oath, has violated ancient charters, has disowned constitutional privileges and liberties. True, they recognise sovereignty by divine ordinance, but they do not admit that God is necessarily on the side of the tyrant against the people. Government, even though divinely instituted, exists for the benefit of the governed. It is ordained by God for their sake, not for the sake of the ruler, and therefore even a divine title has no right as against broken faith, violated charters. They recognise only a conditional sovereignty in the ruler, and they claim the right to transfer, in certain circumstances, their allegiance to another.

In forswearing Philip, they do not, however, formally proclaim the sovereignty of the people. They are not republican on principle, though the republican principle had received momentum from the impact of liberty with tyranny. They do not, formally, found a republic. "As to govern-

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ing these provinces in the form of a republic," to quote the words of William on a former occasion to the States-General, "those who know the conditions, privileges, and ordinances of the country can easily understand that it is hardly possible to dispense with a head or superintendent." In Holland and Zealand, William was accordingly (much against his will, and in spite of the opposition of Amsterdam) recognised as count in place of the Spanish king, while the Duke of Anjou was installed as sovereign (with the title of duke, count, margrave, lord, according to the constitution of the province) over the rest of the confederation. This dual sovereignty over a number of federal States was a clumsy contrivance. But William would not accept the sovereignty of the whole, and insisted on bringing in Anjou in order to gain the support of France. Holland and Zealand would, however, be ruled by him and by no other, and thus the confederation had two "shepherds," two figureheads, instead of one. In outward form it was neither republic nor monarchy, but a federal union with two heads, or sovereigns, and both these sovereigns were what we should call parliamentary rulers. They derive their power from the Estates. They are sovereigns by the national will as expressed by the national Parliament. In both cases the office is made hereditary, but the Estates retain the control over the sovereign in both the lesser and the greater confederacy. He cannot make war or peace without their consent. He is bound by the ancient charters and liberties of the respective provinces. He can only select officials of State, provincial and municipal, from a leet nominated by the Estates. Taxation is dependent on their vote, and every important act of government and legislation must have their sanction. In both cases the Estates as representing the people are practically, if not explicitly, sovereign, and constitutional government is strictly guaranteed.

Nay, even this nominal sovereignty proved in both cases but a makeshift. It was the creation of a political contingency, and events speedily made short work of it. The assassination of William (July 1584) within two years of the acceptance of his sovereign dignity (August 1582) deprived Holland and Zealand of their count; the treachery and incapacity of Anjou soon led to his ignominious retirement to

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France (June 1583). The success of Parma finally reduced the confederation to the seven northern provinces, and these provinces ultimately became the Dutch Republic—in reality a number of small republics, each holding fast to its ancient rights and liberties, and bound to the others by the bond of the States-General.

The republic did not, however, constitute a democracy in the modern sense. It was the result of a revolution only in a very limited sense. It snapped the bond that bound it to Spain. It abjured Philip, deposed its hereditary sovereign. This was certainly a revolutionary proceeding. In other respects the States were marked by conservatism. They accomplished, in fact, a conservative revolution on democratic principles. They set forth, indeed, a revolutionary declaration of the rights of man in the prolix preamble to the Act of Abjuration. But they promulgated no constitution based on theory or on democratic logic. They took things as they found them. They changed the sovereign, and ultimately agreed to do without an individual head ; they did not otherwise change their inherited political institutions. They were highly conservative in their clinging to ancient rights and liberties. They did not sweep away—did not construct; they simply accepted the situation which twenty years of struggle had created. They could not even be said to represent the people in the large sense. They did not constitute a democratic assembly. They represented the nobles, knights, cities. It does not appear that the peasants, or the masses of the towns, were present by deputy, except indirectly. The democracy will yet have something to say, or will claim the right of saying, something in the government of the republic. But this lies in the future.

The partisans of Spain and the pope, who cannot or will not see the necessity, the fitness of things, work themselves into a passion in their horror of such treachery to the lawful ruler. It does not occur to them to consider whether this consummation of Philip's government was not the inevitable outcome of twenty years of provocation to hatred and rebellion. In itself it was a sufficient abnormity that a king of Spain, a foreigner, should lord it over a number of provinces which neither nature nor Heaven seemed to have destined to

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be a mere appanage of the Spanish crown. Only the accident of birth had destined Philip to rule over such a free-spirited people. If he could not rule them in accordance with their interests and their aspirations, he had no real right to rule them at all. The sooner he gave up the task for which he was radically unfit, the better for him and for them. Such at least is the dictum of common-sense.

The career and character of William of Orange have been the object of bitter reproach as well as of enthusiastic laudation. The extreme contentions of partisans apart, there are some features of both that must commend themselves to every impartial mind. It is evident that the foundation of the Dutch Republic was largely due to his political ability and force of character. All through the grim conflict he is the soul of the resistance to the policy of coercion. In desperate situations it is his indomitable courage, his inexhaustible resource in expedients, that saves the tempest-tossed ship, pilots it past the rocks. His career was a continual storm. He had not only the Spaniards to fight and circumvent, but traitors, enemies, opponents in his own camp to thwart. The personality of the man, his courage, his devotion, his strength of will, his extraordinary grasp of detail and expedient, his faith in a higher power as the moulder of human affairs, his wariness, his astuteness, were worth more to these struggling provinces than the alliance of England, France, and Germany, which he strove in vain to engineer against Spain, would have been. It is, of course, impossible to vindicate his every action on principles of abstract justice. In every great political movement where two opposing policies clash in mortal strife, the leader cannot always choose his expedients, cannot always square his calculations and combinations with the principles of moral philosophy. To see in such a career the consistency of the unalloyed Christian would be to falsify history, reckon without human nature, misinterpret the situation. The astute politician who engineers such a movement cannot afford to be an unalloyed Christian, without being guilty of a considerable amount of self-deception and sophistry. He cannot take the straight road. It is his business to set traps for his enemy, to outwit, discomfit him at all hazards. At the same time we should not forget that this was no mere party

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conflict, but a deadly crusade on both sides. For the patriots it was, moreover, a struggle, not merely for victory but for existence; and when we remember what the alternative of defeat meant for the leader and his adherents, it is sheer imbecility to expect the exact observance of idealist rules of conduct or tactics, which a state of war made it impossible to exemplify even to men with the precepts and principles of the gospel on their lips. There were outrages on the patriot as well as on the Spanish side, though the fearful odium of the systematic brutality of an Alva did not, happily, disfigure the vindication of a great cause. Some of the patriot leaders were maddened by Alva's cruelty into brutal retaliation. They were not all actuated by the heroic, the self-sacrificing temper of men of the noble stamp of the Leyden burgomaster. They tortured, hanged, burned prisoners, suspected traitors, monks, priests on occasion. The noble and thrilling picture of endurance and daring in behalf of man's dearest rights has its reverse side, and men like Sonoy and La Marck perpetrated revolting cruelties, and even improved on Alva's savage methods. But it was impossible for William always to control the wild spirit of vengeance which the excesses of Spanish fury evoked, and for such blots on the patriot cause he is not fairly responsible. Nor is it a fair inference to impute to the politician, who united with an extraordinary share of worldly wisdom and diplomatic finesse the profession of an ardent faith in Christ, the blemish of conscious hypocrisy. To talk the language of the devout Christian in State papers is not necessarily the gauge of religious sincerity. All the political plotters of the age, even the worst of them, Alva not excepted, speak and write with an edifying unction when it suits them. Philip himself constantly appeals to God, habitually regards himself as the minister of His will, and Philip was assuredly no hypocrite. Orange certainly showed no trace of the fanatic temperament of Philip, but, though far more enlightened and too latitudinarian even for his fellow Protestants, he was none the less sincere in his profession of a religious and political creed which might be in some respects in advance of his age, but which was certainly not a mere device to serve a personal end. His most private missives, written in circumstances when faith and principle were tried

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to their utmost, reveal an unmistakable conviction of the reality of those verities for which he was ready to sacrifice his life. Whatever he was, he was no mere opportunist to whom religion was but a means to an end.

His greatness as a political leader even his bitterest enemy cannot deny. It is a sufficient measure of that greatness to remember that without him there never would have been, in all probability, a Dutch Republic, and that without the Dutch Republic modern history would have been bereft of one of its greatest forces of progress. Holland must have been crushed, if not by Alva, at least by Parma, and in greatness of personality, as a leader of men and a maker of history, William occupies a niche alongside a Cromwell or a Washington. From this high place of honour no carping criticism can pull him down. The witness of his achievement defies the detraction that would belittle and bedim.

At the same time, without the grand qualities of the people which he led, William must have succumbed at one or other of the desperate crises of the struggle. In spite of the pettiness of provincial egotism that sometimes clogged his combinations, the heroism and determination of these Dutch patriots, immortalised in many a thrilling episode, show that they were worthy to be the followers, the co-workers of such a leader in the vindication of national and individual rights. If ever a people was destined by its own strength of character to great things, it was this stout-hearted, strong-willed, steel-nerved Dutch folk. Happily, too, the exigencies of the time made for the ultimate success of their cause. Protestant Germany might be lukewarm, Protestant England unreliable, and it seemed more than once as if the lack of solidarity on the Protestant side must inevitably result in the destruction of the handful of heroes who were manfully defending the Protestant citadel against such fearful odds. But the forces of the Counter Reformation were not united in the crusade of coercion. The Huguenot struggle lamed the aggressive power of France. The jealousy and friction between France and Spain still further dislocated the reaction against the Reformation, while the attempt to conquer Portugal and England prevented Philip from bringing all his strength to bear in support of Parma in the Netherlands.

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It is outside our purpose to follow further the political and military history of this new State. The struggle lasted, more or less intermittently, till the Peace of Westphalia at last wrung from Spain the unreserved recognition of the Dutch Republic. During that long period the republic became a power of the first rank. Holland was for a time, indeed, the greatest maritime nation of Europe, and proved its supremacy on the sea by wresting from its enemy a part of its colonial empire. In the struggle with Parma on land it failed to maintain its sway over all the provinces represented by the States-General which deposed the Spanish tyrant at the Hague. The sovereignty of the incapable and treacherous Alençon-Anjou proved a fiasco, whose inglorious history may be left in oblivion. Flanders and Brabant were won back to their allegiance by the indomitable Parma, and, with the Walloon provinces, continued till the Peace of Utrecht to form what were called the Spanish Netherlands. In the end only seven of the seventeen provinces—Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Overyssel, Groningen, Friesland, Guelderland—flew the independent flag of the new commonwealth. The assassination of William, the skill of Parma, the incapacity of Leicester, whom Elizabeth at last sent to the rescue, frustrated the larger, if still partial union which had forsworn Philip. The genius of Maurice, William's great son, and of Oldenbarnevelt at last succeeded in saving and consolidating what remained. But the smaller the eventual State, the greater the glory of its achievements. The republic was, in fact, from some points of view the greatest thing produced by the Reformation age. The greatness of Burgundy in its greatest days was inherited and surpassed by the republic, whilst the Spanish provinces sank into the lethargy of stagnation. And not the least part of its title to greatness lies in the fact that this little republic, which at times dictated its will to the greatest potentates of Europe, and maintained for fully a century its rank as a great power, became a refuge for the fugitives from those lands where religious and political liberty had still to vindicate its rights. In spite of outbursts of Calvinist intolerance, the Dutch Republic was the asylum to which the persecuted of every land fled for protection. To it the Pilgrim Fathers, whom Elizabeth banished the realm,

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turned in their adversity. Hither streamed thousands of Huguenots whom the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes drove from their native France. Waldenses from the mountains of Savoy found in these flats, which heroism in a great cause had transformed into a shrine of liberty, a bulwark against persecution. It had, too, a welcome for the political outcast as well as the religious refugee. Its printing presses gave voice to the protests of fugitives from the tyranny of Stuart and Bourbon kings. And, not least, it was from Holland that the great flotilla set forth that bore a future Prince of Orange to the shores of England as the champion of English political liberty, the hero of the glorious revolution of 1689. It was not the first time that at some critical juncture these heroes of the House of Orange had saved Europe, as well as Holland, from conquest and despotism.

SOURCES.—See list given at the end of the preceding chapter, with the addition of the Second Series of the Archives of the House of Orange, edited by van Prinsterer (1857-61); Acts des États Généraux des Pays-Bas (1576-85), edited by Gachard (1861-66); Documents Historiques Inédits concernant les Troubles des Pays-Bas (1577-84), edited by Volkaersbeke and Diegerick (1848-49).

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CHAPTER XII.

Reformation and Revolt in England.

Humanism, which produced in More a political and social reformer, imparted in England, as elsewhere, a stimulus to the reform of the Church. Its pioneer was Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, who already, in the first half of the fifteenth century, was an ardent patron of the new Italian culture, and not only acted the part of the Mæcenas of young Italian scholars, but brought some of them to England. "Around him," to quote Mr Einstein, the latest historian of this obscure subject, "were grouped the other scholars of the age in England. His *protégé* was Thomas Beckynton, bishop of Wells, and a doctor of laws of Oxford, who corresponded also with many learned Italians. . . . His letters reveal quite a little group of English humanists—such men as Adam Mulin, Thos. Chandler, and W. Grey." Gloucester and his *protégés* did not achieve much in the effort to revolutionise education and culture, but they collected books and manuscripts, and pointed out the way for others to follow. Englishmen had been accustomed throughout the Middle Ages to resort to Italy in quest of knowledge, and at the University of Bologna there was an English "nation." But from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards English students like Grey, Free, Flemming, Gunthorpe, and Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, were attracted beyond the Alps by the craving for the humanist rather than the scholastic learning. They were followed later by Selling and Hadley, two Canterbury monks, who first visited Italy in 1464. It was Selling, the translator of one of Chrysostom's works, who taught Linacre Greek in Christ Church School at Canterbury. Linacre and Grocyn perfected their knowledge by attending the prelections of Politian at Florence, and this knowledge they imparted to a group of ardent students at Oxford, on their return from Italy in the last decade of the

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century. Of these students the most famous were Colet and More. Colet, too, went from Oxford, where he had learned Greek from Grocyn, to Italy in 1495, and returned in 1498 to lecture on St Paul's Epistles. We do not know for certain that he had been at Florence, though this is probable. Certain it is that he had drunk in, along with the philosophy of Ficino and Pico, something of the reforming spirit of a Savonarola. More had not the advantage of perfecting his humanist studies by an Italian tour, but he became Colet's lifelong friend, and both were the friends and helpers of Erasmus. Both, too, were practical reformers as well as scholars. Colet strove to uproot the abuses rampant in the Church, which appeared to him to have diverged far from pristine purity. "We are grieved nowadays also by heretics, men mad with marvellous foolishness," he thundered from the pulpit of St Paul's to the assembled Convocation in 1512, "but the heresies of them are not so pestilent and pernicious to us and the people as the evil and wicked lives of priests." In this sermon, which may be taken as his manifesto of reform, he did not attack doctrine. He made war on the worldliness, immorality, and ignorance of the clergy, their simony and absenteeism, their disregard of ecclesiastical law and discipline. But, while respecting tradition, he had read the New Testament in Greek at Oxford, and eschewed the schoolmen and their methods. He urged his students "to keep firmly to the Bible and the Apostles' Creed, and let the divines, if they like, dispute about the rest." He was an ardent educationist, and the school which, as Dean, he founded at St Paul's, was an essay in scholastic reform in the spirit of the new culture, chastened by the moral earnestness of the English humanist. Its pupils were accordingly to be taught, besides Latin and Greek, "the knowledge of Christ, and good Christian life and manners." The purpose and method of this educational institution, which had Lilly for its headmaster, were indeed far in advance of those of the day, which made the schoolmaster a tyrant, and his pupils the martyrs of his barbarism, ignorance, and ferocity.

Colet did not refrain from outspoken criticism of political as well as ecclesiastical abuses, and this even in the royal presence. On Good Friday, 27th March 1513, he delivered a characteristic sermon before the bellicose Henry VIII. Here

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is Erasmus' account of the performance. "On Good Friday Colet preached a noble sermon before the king and his court, on the victory of Christ, exhorting all Christians to war and to conquer under the banner of Him, their proper King. For they, he said, who through hatred and ambition were fighting, the bad with the bad, and slaughtering one another by turns, were warring under the banner, not of Christ but of the devil. At the same time he pointed out to them how hard a thing it was to die a Christian death; how few entered on a war unsullied by hatred or love of gain; how incompatible a thing it was that a man should have that brotherly love, without which no one would see God, and yet bury his sword in his brother's heart. Let them follow, he added, the example of Christ as their Prince, not that of a Julius Cæsar or an Alexander. Much more to the same effect he gave utterance to on that occasion, so that the king was in some apprehension lest the soldiers, whom he was leading abroad, should feel their courage gone through this discourse."

Henry summoned the intrepid preacher to an interview at Greenwich, and after an explanation, which entirely removed his apprehensions, pledged his health in the well-known words, "Let everyone have his own doctor, and everyone follow his own liking; but this is the doctor for me."

The wave of reform on humanist lines was in England, as in other lands, the precursor of the wave of Protestant reform, which reached English shores from over the North Sea. But while the humanist wave sought to purify, the Protestant wave sought to submerge the old Church. The evils against which a Colet or a More raised his voice served merely as a vantage ground to the militant Protestant for the attack on institutions and doctrines to which a Colet held fast. Men like Tyndale, Frith, Barnes demanded reform on the lines of Luther or Zwingli, not of Colet. The demand proved premature, however. In spite of the abuses rampant in the English Church, there is no reason to believe that the mass of the English people were so hostile to the hierarchy as in Germany.

There was indeed, and had long been, a strong dislike of the papal supremacy on national grounds, and laws such as the statutes of Provisors and Præmunire had been made

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and remade for the purpose of limiting that supremacy, and checking the evils to which it gave rise. There was too, and long had been, a jealousy of clerical power, as is patent from the attempts to restrict the privileges of the clergy and the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts. The heretic had further been perturbing the peace of the Church since the days of Wicklif, in spite of severe statutes against heresy, and the burning of heretic Lollards. These Lollards had continued to subsist and nurture their heresy in secret among the lower classes throughout the fifteenth century, as is evident from the occasional arraignment and burning of some obscure disciple of Wicklif. So late as the opening years of Henry the Eighth's reign a considerable number of these heretics abjured their errors in order to escape the fire, and several who showed themselves obstinate, or relapsed after abjuration, were burned. Fitz-James, bishop of London, distinguished himself in this heresy hunt, and his zeal was the butt of the wit of Ammonius, Henry's Latin secretary, who jestingly wrote to Erasmus that he did not wonder that wood was so scarce and dear, since the heretics caused so many holocausts. And yet, he added, their numbers grow.

Uncompromising hostility to the Church and its doctrines was, nevertheless, exceptional in England on the eve of the Reformation. Reformers of the school of Colet, More, Erasmus, were staunch Churchmen, though they loudly denounced the degenerate ecclesiastic of the age and ridiculed the monks. Henry himself, whilst sympathising with the humanists and defending Dr Standish, who attacked the immunity of the clergy and exalted the royal supremacy in the Convocation of 1515, wrote an answer to Luther's book on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church, and received from a grateful pope the title of Defender of the Faith. In asserting his prerogative in such matters as the deprivation of murderers and malefactors of the benefit of clergy, he only claimed a right that had been asserted by his ancestors, and was making no new attack on the liberties of the Church. "We are," he told the bishops, "by the suffrance of God, king of England, and the kings of England in times past never had any superior but God. Know, therefore, that we will maintain the rights of the crown in this matter like our progenitors." Even "The

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Reforming Parliament" of 1529 was not actuated by an aggressive spirit against the hierarchy. It did not strike a blow at the power of the Church in the spirit of a Luther, as some of the historians would have us believe. It did not throw its protecting arm over the heretics, though in a subsequent session it passed an Act to ensure them a fair trial. It merely attacked abuses like pluralities, mortuary fees, fines for probates exacted by the ecclesiastical courts. Its aim was not to destroy but to improve the Church.

As for the Lollards, they had evidently remained but an obscure fraction of the nation. Luther, and even Zwingli, had already some disciples, and Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, which appeared in 1526, had some readers. We hear, too, of the Association of Christian Brothers in London, composed chiefly of traders and artisans, who distributed Protestant literature in clandestine fashion. The universities were found by Wolsey's inquisitors to be infected with heresy, bred by Lutheran and Zwinglian books; and heterodox teachers and students like Barnes at Cambridge, and Clarke and Garret at Oxford, were compelled to recant or forced to seek refuge with Tyndale at Antwerp. More, whilst chancellor, signalised his hatred of "this kind of men" by burning those who refused to recant. So keen was the scent of the heresy hunters, under More's auspices, that they smelled heresy in the sermons of Latimer, Henry's chaplain, who, while sympathising with men like the martyr, Thomas Bilney, one of More's victims, and, like Latimer himself, a Cambridge man, was at this period rather a practical than a doctrinal preacher. He was only saved by the intervention of the king, who relished the outspoken style in which he rated high ecclesiastical dignitaries like the Bishop of Ely. Another of these scholarly enthusiasts, John Frith of Cambridge, was less fortunate, and was burned at Smithfield in 1533 for obstinately holding a doctrine of the Lord's Supper analogous to that of Zwingli. A few more victims swell the roll of these early martyrs of English Protestantism, but the number of those who went beyond the limits of reform set by the king in his capacity of supreme head of the Church was not large, though they seem at times, to judge from the complaints of the bishops, to have been very demonstrative and aggressive.

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The nation was very far from being converted from the old creed by the denunciations or the exhortations of the Protestant preachers. They seem, however, to have gained a certain following in some of the towns.

The English Protestant Reformation was thus no great national movement like that which took the country by storm in Scotland, Holland, and in parts of Germany and Switzerland. It originated mainly with the enthusiastic young men of the universities who had read the works of Luther or Zwingli, and who, in their zeal for a radical renovation of the Church, outstripped the older generation of reformers represented by Colet and More. It was at best, and for a long time, a sectarian and not a national movement. The Reformation inaugurated by Henry VIII., and guided by Cranmer and Cromwell, the subservient instruments of his arbitrary will, was not Protestant in the Lutheran and Zwinglian or Calvinist sense, though policy sometimes compelled Henry to coquet with the Lutheran princes and reformers, and to attempt a compromise with the doctrinal tenets of Luther, as in the Ten Articles of 1536. He strove to establish a national Church of which he, and not the pope, was the head; but the Defender of the Faith was by no means a follower of Luther, as the Six Articles of 1539, which he substituted for those of 1536, demonstrate. "The king," as Hooper wrote to Bullinger, "has destroyed the pope, but not popery." Whenever the Protestants, in the intervals when Henry was courting the Lutheran theologians and their patrons, the German princes, showed a disposition to hurry the nation into a religious revolution, they were promptly pulled up by an access of persecution. His attitude towards the burning religious questions of the day was largely shaped by passion or policy. His infatuation for a young court beauty drove him to insist on the divorce from Queen Catherine, which the pope, for politic reasons, found it impossible to grant. He gratified his passion by marrying Ann Boleyn, and punished the pope's shuffling by compelling the clergy to acknowledge him supreme head of the English Church, and by cutting off his English income, and forbidding appeals to Rome by a series of parliamentary Acts. Further legislation, conferring on the Archbishop of Canterbury the power of dispensation and license, hitherto exercised by the

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pope, and decreeing the election and consecration of archbishops and bishops without papal pallium and bull, completed the revolution. The breach was rendered irrevocable by the sentence of excommunication and deprivation which Paul III. at last hurled against the contemner of the papal authority. Henry, by the fiat of his strong will, had done, from not very creditable motives, what he himself had condemned Luther for advocating but a dozen years before. He had spurned the pretensions of Antichrist to dictate to him and his people, and in so doing he took up a position alongside Luther and Zwingli at a very important point in the line of Protestant attack. But neither he nor Parliament, in casting off the pope, renounced the old creed. Parliament expressly declared that its anti-papal legislation should not "be interpreted or expounded that his grace, his nobles, and subjects intended by the same to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in anything concerning the articles of the Catholic faith of Christendom." King and Parliament went beyond the Oxford reformers in disestablishing the pope; they did not, except for a short season, when the Ten Articles became the official creed of the Church, go the length of the Protestant demand for a reformation of doctrine. Henry might reduce the Church to abject subjection to his will; Parliament might explicitly sanction his headship and make the denial of it high treason by the Supremacy and Treason Acts; these Acts might send More and Bishop Fisher and some other conscientious papists to the block. But England did not thereby become officially a Protestant nation. If papists like More, Fisher, and Prior Houghton suffered for their adhesion to the pope, Protestants like Lambert, Barnes, and Anne Ascue suffered for their adhesion to Luther and Zwingli. Even Cranmer was more than once in danger of being tried as a heretic, though he was only cautiously feeling his way throughout the reign to the Protestant side.

The formal abolition of the papal authority, which many English kings had disputed, and successive parliaments had curtailed, was nevertheless in itself a reformation. It was a despotic stroke on the side of freedom, not indeed freedom of conscience, but freedom from an alien domination. It might

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substitute the tyrant with the crown on his head for the tyrant who wore the tiara. It was, at all events, a fell blow to traditional ecclesiastical authority as incorporated in the Roman bishop. It destroyed the outworks of the Romanist fortress, and weakened the position for the Protestant attack. That position was further undermined by the suppression of the monasteries, though the spoil went mostly to enrich the crown and its servile supporters. And in giving to the English people the Bible in the English tongue, Henry indirectly went a long way in undermining not only the old creed to which he held fast, but the despotic principles of government which he exemplified so cruelly against both Papists and Protestants. The English Bible in the hands of the Puritan Protestants was to become a most mighty weapon of offence against the absolutism which now reigned supreme in both Church and State. Protestantism of the Puritan type was in the long run to lead to memorable political results, and inspire the spirit of resistance to autocratic government. Under the pressure of persecution, the English Protestant, like the French Huguenot, was driven to protest against the arbitrary oppression of conscience, to question the right of kings to govern according to their own will. The religious reformation acted, in fact, as a tonic on the nation throughout the critical period of Tudor despotism. It roused men like Ponet to arraign the despotism that under a Mary offered its holocausts to the demon of intolerance. It roused the early Puritans under Elizabeth to protest against an Act of Uniformity, which would allow no conscientious dissent from the official Anglican religion. And what these Puritans could achieve as champions of the rights of Parliament and subject against Stuart absolutism, the history of the seventeenth century was to show, in startling fashion, to kings who claimed a divine right to override the laws.

Even under the *régime* of the tyrant Henry, opposition to the royal will on grounds of conscience was not quite dormant, though the earlier Protestants were disposed to magnify the royal office. Some of the Protestant heretics would not be bullied, even in the royal presence, into the recantation of their creed. Witness the stout bearing of John Lambert, who, on the 16th November 1538, was arraigned in West-

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minster Hall before the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and the judges on a charge of denying the real presence. The scene might have tried the fortitude of the bravest heretic, but the stout Lambert, in whom the spirit of the future Puritan burned, maintained his opinion in argument with the king himself.

"Answer as touching the sacrament of the altar," commanded Henry. "Is it the body of Christ or no?"

"I answer with St Augustine," replied poor Lambert, seeking to shield himself with the name of the great Father. "It is the body of Christ after a certain manner."

"Answer me not out of St Augustine," pressed Henry. "Tell me plainly whether it be the body of Christ or no!"

"Then I say it is not," was the reply.

"Mark well," warned Henry; "you are condemned by Christ's own words—*Hoc est corpus meum.*"

Whereupon Cranmer and several other prelates filled out several hours with their arguments, to make impossibility seem certainty to the staunch heretic.

Lambert still professed his inability to believe in the dogma of the real presence.

"Choose," said Henry at last. "Will you live, or will you die?"

"I commit my soul to God, and my body to your clemency," returned the steadfast heretic.

"Then you must die; I will be no patron of heretics."

And die he unflinchingly did, four days later, the fearful death of the man who asserted his right to question a dogma which he could not accept even at royal dictation.

While repressing papists who denied his supremacy, Henry, it is evident, had no sympathy with, or toleration for, advanced Protestant views. As far as the Reformation was a national movement, Henry favoured it. As far as it was an independent movement, he sought to repress it. He reformed the constitution of the Church; he would not tolerate any thoroughgoing reformation of its doctrines. As an independent movement it consequently did not make much progress in his reign. His reforming measures, as far as they went, strengthened the power of the crown at the expense of the pope, and of the Parliament which, partly from national

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reasons, partly from cupidity, partly from subservience to the royal will, showed itself so ready to abet his policy. He put himself in place of the pope, and derived from the plunder of Church property a powerful support of his personal government. "His highness," we find him saying in an address to the nation in 1539, "being careful over all his people, is as loth that the dull party (the adherents of the pope) should fancy their ceremonies to be the chief points of Christian religion, as he is miscontent with the rash party (the advanced Protestants), which hunt down what they list, without consent of his grace's authority. His highness wills that the disobedience of them that seek their lusts and liberties shall be repressed, and they to bear the infirmities and weakness of their neighbours, until such times as they, enstrengthened, may be able to go in like pace with them, able to draw in one yoke; for St Paul would a decent order in the Church, and because God is a God of peace, and not of dissention, it were meet that all they that would be His should agree on all points, and especially in matters of religion."

The heroic resolution of the martyr was not all on the Protestant side. In the year before this declaration Friar Forrest died as resolutely for his faith in the pope as Lambert for his disbelief in the sophism of the real presence. "I will die," said he stoutly to Latimer, who asked him at the stake whether he would recant his papal heresy. "Do your worst upon me. . . . Take me, cut me to pieces, joint from joint. Burn, hang, do what you will, I will be true henceforth to my faith."

It was, in fact, from the side of the Papists, not of the Protestants, that the despot had to fear the most active resistance. The Protestants were an insignificant minority, too insignificant to risk conspiracy or insurrection, even if they had willed to do so. The vast majority of the rural population, especially in the north and west, was at this period staunchly Romanist, reverenced the pope, and resented the crusade against the monks, and had, besides, grievances of a social nature to redress. The spirit of the people, in contrast to that of the Parliament, appears very restive, if not very enlightened, under the most despotic of the Tudors. While Parliament cowered under the royal dictation, the

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people was preparing to dispute it arms in hand. Unlike the German peasantry of the Reformation age, who, as we have seen, hated priest and monk and attacked monasteries as well as castles, the peasants were ready to rise in their thousands, not only to protest against social abuses but to avenge the pope and the monks. What these abuses were we have already learned from "Utopia." The chronic dearth of labour and the demand for English wool by the home and foreign manufacturer had depressed agriculture, and increasingly developed sheep farming. The owners of the soil turned a large part of it into sheep pastures, ejected the small farmer for this purpose, and seized and enclosed the common lands for their own use. The landowner might be acting for his own interest in accordance with the laws of political economy, but his action involved hardship and injustice to the masses. Of the hardship there is no question, even if we had no Utopia to bear witness to it. "Among the causes of the insurrection," testified one of the prisoners captured after the coming revolt, "were pulling down of villages and farms, raising of rents, enclosures, intakes of the commons, worshipful men taking yeomen's offices, that is, becoming dealers in farm produce." The same complaint is heard in a characteristic petition of the time to the king. "By reason of so many farms engrossed in one man's hands, which cannot till them, the ploughs be decayed, and the farmhouses and other dwelling-houses, so that when there was in a town twenty or thirty dwelling-houses, they be now decayed, ploughs and all the people clean gone, and the churches down, and no more parishioners in many parishes but a neat-herd and a shepherd instead of three score or four score persons."

These things roused the anger of the people, but the people had more reason to be angry with the local lords and gentry than with the Government, which had vainly re-enacted the statutes against enclosures. The lords and gentry, however, had their own grievances. They resented the heavy taxation granted by a servile and packed Parliament. They resented still more bitterly the rise of the new nobility and the royal patronage of newcomers like Cromwell, who robbed them of their supremacy in government and Parliament. They felt aggrieved by the Statute of Uses, which regulated

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by parliamentary enactment the possession of estates, and compelled proprietors to bequeath their land solely to their eldest sons. The clergy of the north were equally disaffected. They were the sworn henchmen of the pope and the monks, and wrought up the zeal of their parishioners to fever heat against the despoilers of the monasteries. The general discontent which was thus, from various causes, seething in the northern counties, found a focus in the religious question, which united all classes in hatred of Cromwell's administration. The men of Lincolnshire were equally restive, and here too the religious question ranged the commons under the leadership of the lords and gentlemen as champions of a desecrated Church. Among the demands concerning religion, formulated during the course of the insurrection, were the suppression of heresy, the restoration of the pope's authority and of the suppressed monasteries, the punishment of Cromwell and his minions as the subverters of the laws of the realm and the patrons of heretics, the legitimation of the Princess Mary, the abrogation of all the oppressive laws and penalties enacted by an obsequious Parliament, and the confirmation of the rights and privileges of the Church. To enforce these demands the men of Lincolnshire sprang to arms in October 1536, and flocked in their thousands to Lincoln under the leadership of county gentlemen and fanatic priests. Fortunately for the cause of the royal authority, Henry possessed in this emergency two generals of decision and resource, and the alacrity with which the Duke of Suffolk and Lord Shrewsbury mustered the loyalists of the southern counties overawed the motley horde at Lincoln. Dissension took possession of the councils of the insurgents, self-confidence vanished, and the revolt collapsed in less than a fortnight.

It was, however, but the prelude to another and more menacing rising on the north side of the Humber. Before Suffolk and Shrewsbury had cowed the men of Lincoln, the men of York and the north were swarming in the same cause around the banner of Robert Aske, Lords D'Arcy, Lumley, Scrope, and other northern magnates. In a few days Aske had concentrated thirty thousand well-equipped men at Doncaster, wherewith to force a passage in the face of the small royal army under the Duke of Norfolk and Lord Shrewsbury,

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and march on London. In spite of his overwhelming strength he was, however, unwilling to fight, and Norfolk was only too willing to negotiate. The lengthy negotiation ended in the promise of a general pardon, and of a Parliament to meet at York to settle the question at issue between king and people. The insurgents dispersed to await the upshot, believing themselves masters of the situation. They did not consider themselves rebels; they had simply made an armed demonstration against arbitrary government. The upshot was very different from what they expected, and spasmodic outbursts at Hull, Beverley, Carlisle, with which Aske and D'Arcy had no connection, undid both them and their cause. These insignificant outbursts gave Henry a pretext for striking at those who had dared to defy his authority sword in hand. Norfolk advanced once more—this time with a powerful force—scattering panic and despair in his progress, proclaiming martial law, and hanging the more notorious rebels who fell into his hands. D'Arcy, Aske, and other leaders who were granted a trial, were convicted, in spite of their denial of complicity with those who had violated the convention, and executed at York or London. Instead of the promised Parliament, a Council of the North was established at York to hear appeals and maintain order. The Pilgrimage of Grace, as the rebellion was called, had failed to redress the poor man's grievances and restore the authority of the pope. Its failure in the last respect is certainly not regrettable. Henry's despotism might be harsh and egotistic. What that of the fanatic papist would have been, the reign of his bigoted daughter was to prove. Progress did not lie with those who, in their zeal for the pope, would have burned every Protestant and even every semi-Protestant in England. Men like Cardinal Pole, the exiled champion of these fanatic papists, might in his book, "De Unitate Ecclesiæ," lower the king to his constitutional place; but it was only to exalt the priest at his expense. We repeat, it was well for England that a rising on behalf of this priestly rule failed. England was yet to have a taste of Cardinal Pole's priestly democracy as an adviser of its sovereign, and it did not relish it.

It is strange that Henry could have played the despot over England for nearly forty years, as Francis I. played the despot

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in France during nearly the same long period, without the aid of a standing army. The standing army and the exuberant loyalty of the French made their monarch unquestioned master of the State. In England the king could appeal to no organised permanent force, and the fact that he carried through changes so distasteful to the vast majority of the nation is a striking proof of his masterly will, his skill in statecraft, his tact as well as his tyranny. "There had evidently," says Mr Hallam, "been a retrograde tendency towards absolute monarchy between the reigns of Henry VI. and Henry VIII. Nor could this be attributed to the common engine of despotism, a military force. For except the yeomen of the guard, fifty in number, and the common servants of the king's household, there was not in time of peace an armed man receiving pay in England. A government that ruled by intimidation was absolutely destitute of force to intimidate. Hence risings of the mere commonalty were sometimes highly dangerous, and lasted much longer than ordinary. A rabble of Cornishmen in the reign of Henry VII., headed by a blacksmith, marched up from their own county to the suburbs of London without resistance. The insurrection of 1525, in consequence of Wolsey's illegal taxation; those of the north ten years afterwards, wherein, indeed, some men of higher quality were engaged; and those which broke out simultaneously in several counties under Edward VI., excited a well-grounded alarm in the country, and in the two latter instances were not quelled without much time and exertion. The reproach of servility and patient acquiescence under usurped power falls, not on the English people but on its national leaders. We have seen, indeed, that the House of Commons now and then gave signs of an independent spirit (but hardly at all under Henry VIII., Mr Hallam should have added), and occasioned more trouble even to Henry VIII. than his compliant nobility. They yielded to every mandate of his imperious will; they bent with every breath of his capricious humour; they are responsible for the illegal trial, for the iniquitous attainder, for the sanguinary statute, for the tyranny which they sanctioned by law, and for that which they permitted to subsist without law."

With the death of Henry VIII., in January 1547, the

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power which he had wielded so arbitrarily against both Papists and Protestants passed, for the brief period of his son's reign, to the Protestant party. Protestantism had now, for a short interval, the Government on its side, and the Government was to reform the doctrine and practice of the Church as well as its constitution. The new reign was inaugurated by the repeal of some of the more tyrannical statutes. The treason and heresy laws and the law of Proclamations were erased from the statute-book. There was a rebound from the despotic pressure of the last thirty years, but there was no inauguration of good government. Somerset, who got himself acknowledged Protector of the realm for the boy king, had popular sympathies and professed a love of liberty. "The Protector," says Burnet, "seemed much concerned for the commons, and often spoke against the oppression of landlords. He was naturally just and compassionate, and so did heartily espouse the cause of the poor people, which made the nobility and gentry hate him much." He was a brilliant general, but an indifferent statesman, and the pressure of the war with Scotland and France, and the maladministration, which he was incapable of checking, nullified his good intentions. His administration may be described as a series of failures, rendered almost inevitable by the accumulation of abuses of Henry's reign, and aggravated by a rash and sanguine temperament. The successful general is not usually the successful ruler. His fiscal policy, which debased the coinage and raised the price of food, soured the masses; his religious policy, which swept away usages dear to the ignorant rustics, co-operated with their social grievances to exasperate them once more into rebellion. Somerset lost his office and then his life in the midst of the misery and anarchy, of which Northumberland, who succeeded him in the direction of affairs, took advantage to ruin him. Contention over rival doctrines had begotten a religion which was only skin-deep in the higher classes, who favoured because they profited by Protestantism. "The people," wrote Hooper, "are oppressed by the tyranny of the nobles; England is full of misery." Their only answer to the social questions that demanded a solution with equal insistence was the neglect and oppression of the poor. Latimer had only too good reason to raise his

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indignant voice against the selfishness and class hatred that sowed poverty and bitterness all over the land. "It is to the king's honour," he cried, in one of his bold practical sermons delivered before the king in March 1549, "that the commonwealth be advanced, that the dearth of these foresaid things be provided for, and the commodities of this realm so employed as it may be to the setting of his subjects on work, and keeping them from idleness. . . . If the king's honour, as some men say, standeth in the great multitude of people, then these grazers, inclosers, and rent rearers are hinderers of the king's honour. For whereas have been a great many householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog. My lords and masters, such proceedings do intend plainly to make of the yeomanry slavery. . . . All the enhancing and rearing goeth to your private commodity and wealth. So that where ye had a single too much, so now ye have double too much; but let the preacher preach till his tongue be worn to the stumps, nothing is amended." Latimer's contemporaries, Thomas Lever and Bernard Gilpin, are equally outspoken.

The abuses depicted by the preacher were the subject of bitter denunciation by contemporary scribes like Crowley, Brynkelow, and Hales, who were as hostile to rack-rents and enclosures as Sir Thomas More himself. The commercial spirit was already keen in sixteenth-century England, and the country was in the slow agony of an economic revolution. The mercantile class was accumulating wealth, and acquiring property in land or houses, and letting it out at exorbitant rents. Similarly, the landowners were bent on screwing out of their land as much as they could possibly get, without consideration for the wrongs and sufferings of the masses. The undue raising of rents, the rise in the price of provisions, the amalgamation of small holdings into large farms, the enclosure of common lands for the landlord's particular advantage, the turning of arable land into sheep pasture, increased poverty, starvation, crime in every county. The hardship and danger of these abuses stirred the energies of men like Latimer, Hales, Lever, Crowley, who were known as "Commonwealth's Men," and who inculcated, in general, justice and fair dealing between man and man, for the honour of God

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and the good of the State, and, in particular, the righting of these agrarian wrongs. Their demands were accentuated by spasmodic risings in Gloucester, Somerset, Hants, Wilts, in the spring of 1548. English rustics were not the men to revolt for mere theoretic principles, and these risings were the outcome of very poignant grievances. They were goaded into desperate courses by the trickery, the chicanery, that made them hungry and homeless. It was, in fact, economically a period when the simple folk of a parish or a district were exposed to the sharp practice of the local Uriah Heaps, whose policy was one of rascality and ruin towards everybody but themselves. It was an age without conscience or pity; and while it made thousands, aye, tens of thousands, vagabonds and criminals, it made the fortunes of the men with a sharp eye to business. If things were bad enough in More's time, they were much worse thirty years later. Though many of the monasteries were sinks of iniquity, they had at least provided what the workhouses of a later period provided for the unfortunate poor—refuge and subsistence. Now that the monasteries were suppressed, and their lands in the clutch of the greedy aristocracy, the cities and the highways were infested with beggars, thrown out of home and occupation by the land-grabbers—starving, stealing, hungering to death. Such of them as were willing to work could not find occupation, and could not therefore pay for the provisions which had doubled or trebled in price within a few years. It is not surprising that they fought for redress of grievances rather than die from starvation in street or highway. What is surprising is that a Protestant bishop like Miles Coverdale—and he the translator of the Bible—should have preached a thanksgiving sermon among the bodies of the slaughtered peasants. Luther was evidently not the only Protestant theologian who, Bible in hand, took the side of the rich against the poor. And it was not only on the battlefield that the rich had the best of it; they were also omnipotent in the law courts.

Here is a vivid passage from one of these contemporary scribes, which focusses the causes of the social upheaval in a single short paragraph. "If I shuld demaunde of the pore man of the contrey," wrote Crowley in "The Way to Wealth" (1550), "what thinge he thinketh to be the cause of sedition,

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I know his answere. He woulde tell me that (the cause lies with) the great fermeres, the grasiers, the rich buchares (butchers), the men of lawe, the marchauntes, the gentlemen, the knightes, the lordes, and I can not tel who . . . men without conscience; men utterly voide of Goddes feare; yea, men that live as thoughe there were no God at all; men that would have all in their owne handes; men that would leave nothing for others; men that would be alone on the earth; men that bee never satisfied. Cormerauntes, gredye gulles; yea, men that would eate up menne, women, and chyldren are the causes of sedition. They take our houses over our headdes, they bye our groundes out of our handes, they reyse our rentes, they leavie great (yea, unreasonable) fines, they enclose our commons. No custome, no lawe or statute can kepe them from oppressyng us in such sorte, that we know not whyche way to turne us to lyve. . . . In the countrey we cannot tarye, but we must be theyr slaves and labour till our hertes brast, and then they must have al. And to go to the cities we have no hope, for there we heare that these unsaciable beastes have al in theyr handes. Some have purchased and some taken by leases, whole alleyes, whole centres, whole rowes, yea, whole streates and lanes, so that the rentes be reysed, some double, some triple, and some four-fold to that they were wythin these xii. yeres past. Yea, ther is not so much as a garden ground fre from them. No remedye, therfore, we must nedes fight it out, or else be brought to the lyke slavery that the French men are in."

The testimony of the ballads of the time is as emphatic as that of the pamphlets. Take the following:—

"Envy waxeth wondrous strong,
The rich doth the poor wrong;
God of His mercy suffereth long
The devil his works to work.
The towns go down, the land decays;
Of cornfields, plain lays (leas);
Great men maketh now-a-days
A sheep cot of the Church.

"The places that we right holy call,
Ordained for Christian burial,
Of them to make an ox's stall,
These men be wondrous wise;

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Commons to close and keep ;
Poor folk for bread to cry and weep ;
Towns pulled down to pasture sheep ;
This is the new guise (fashion)."

The social reformers of Edward's reign were, nevertheless, no revolutionists. One of the most strenuous of them, John Hales, while penning a strong plea for social reformation, rebutted the charge of anarchy which his enemies hurled against him. "And doubtless they judge very evil of me that reporte that I would have libertie, libertie, and so a licentious libertie. As I am utterly voide of suche opinion, so on the other side, I will tell you plaine, I am not of that minde that I do allowe too much servitude and slaverie. Bothe libertie and servitude, if they be out of mesure, be bothe hurtfull, and the destruccion of every commonwelthe."

To deal with this state of matters, Somerset, with much profession of philanthropy—no doubt honestly meant, though he had very liberally helped himself to Church property—issued a proclamation against enclosures in June 1548, and sent commissioners into the counties to collect material for a petition to Parliament on the subject. They were hailed by the people as reformers after their own heart, and the petition which they drew up as the result of their inquiries shows that Latimer and his fellow-reformers had not exaggerated the evils they denounced. It demanded drastic remedies in the exemplary punishment of the law breakers. Needless to say, an interested Parliament would not listen to such propositions, and refused to pass the Enclosures Bill. "Though the Duke of Somerset," remarks Strype, "took all his pains and employed many honest men in this charitable work (of the commission) to put a stop to the impoverishing and dispiriting of the poor, and to heal their discontents, which he foresaw also a great danger in, yet such was the greedy avarice of the gentry, that all these endeavours proved unsuccessful ; many great men at the court, and the Earl of Warwick, it seems, among the rest, backing them, being themselves probably guilty in that behalf."

Somerset nevertheless persevered in the work of social reform. He enjoined the commissioners to enforce the tillage statutes and level illegal enclosures. But he was too weak to

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play with success the *rôle* of the beneficent ruler, and, in any case, his good intentions were frustrated by an outbreak of rebellion in the west and east, in which the seething religious and social discontent exploded once more with sufficiently menacing effects. The new liturgy, known as the First Prayer Book of King Edward, was to be introduced in all churches on Whitsunday, the 9th June 1549. The villagers of Sampford Courtenay compelled their priest to say mass in Latin, and before the month was ended the people of Devonshire and Cornwall were in open revolt. Ten thousand Cornishmen were on the march to Exeter, and forced Sir Peter Carew, who had been sent to maintain order, to retire into Somersetshire. In a series of articles they demanded the restoration of the Catholic ceremonies and the suppression of heresy by the sword, the disuse of the English Bible, the nomination of Cardinal Pole to a seat in the Council, and the partial appropriation of the abbey lands to religious uses. The tenor of these articles reveals the hand of the clerical agitator, but the clerical agitator, with so much discontent seething in every county of England, was not a person to be trifled with; and though Somerset, who sympathised with the practical grievances of the masses that made the clerical agitator so dangerous, hesitated, he was overruled by the Council into a policy of indiscriminate repression. Lords Russell and Grey were accordingly commissioned to deal with the western insurgents as rebels. Grey enforced the arguments by which Peter Martyr was disturbing the peace of Oxford University by hanging recalcitrant priests from the church towers throughout the county. He then hurried westwards to reinforce Russell in the attempt to relieve Exeter, which was besieged by the men of Cornwall and Devon. It was only after a series of desperate combats by their united forces that Exeter was relieved, and the insurgents slaughtered into submission.

The insurrectionary spirit spread into the eastern and midland counties, and as far north as Yorkshire, but in the east it was stirred by agrarian discontent pure and simple, and had leaders of a very different stamp from the reactionary priests of Devon and Cornwall. The anger of the people at the social and economic abuses of which they were the victims,

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blazed out in hot declamation in many a tavern and on many a village green of Norfolk. These men, cried the popular orators of the stamp of a Kett, have all things; the people nothing but misery, and to misery is added insult. "What pitiful creatures are these poor wretches, scoff our oppressors. Moreover, are we not treated like slaves, and turned adrift from house and holding at the nod of some noble or squire? We will teach them what it means to cheat us out of our birthrights as men, or die in the attempt."

Under the inspiration of such outbursts, the men of Attleborough rose and threw down the fences of a neighbouring squire on the 20th June 1549. About three weeks later the men of Wymondham, assembled to celebrate the festival of the translation of St Thomas à Becket, rounded off the day's hilarity by a similar exploit. They threatened to deal with the enclosure of Robert Kett in like fashion. To their surprise and joy, Kett not only offered to destroy it with his own hands, but to become their leader "for the weal of the commonalty." Numerous recruits from the countryside swelled the rustic army, and with this rustic army Kett moved on Norwich, in spite of the inhibition of Sir Edmund Windham, the High Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, who only escaped their vengeance by the fleetness of his horse. About the middle of July they finally pitched their camp on Mousehold, or Mussel Hill, overlooking Norwich. The camp became the focus of all the seething discontent in the county. By beacon and bell the people learned the great news, and while they poured from far and near by the hundred into the camp, until their numbers swelled to 16,000, Kett compelled the unwilling alliance of the mayor and council of Norwich. Here, under the Oak of Reformation, he sat in judgment on the county gentlemen. He was sparing of life, but not of property, and the camp at Mousehold was amply supplied with the spoil of the surrounding country. He nevertheless kept his followers under strict discipline, and had sermons preached by men like Mathew Parker, the future archbishop of Canterbury, and prayers read under the Oak of Reformation. He professed loyalty to the king, and dispensed natural justice in his name. What his notions of natural justice were we learn from the articles of grievances which he drew up in

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the form of a petition to the Protector. The list is a long one, and it shows that the rising was emphatically a reaction against both the hated economic policy that was ruining the country, and the system of feudal privilege and exaction that was still, in spite of modification, a source of terrible hardship to the masses of sixteenth-century England. In this Norfolk rebellion, indeed, there are features that remind of the German peasant rising a quarter of a century earlier. The English peasant of 1549, like the German peasant of 1525, was the victim of both an oppressive policy and an oppressive system which he would stand no longer, if his strong arm would avail him aught against class selfishness and traditional privilege. The nobles and squires, he complains, impose feudal burdens, such as "free rent," on the poor man, which they ought to pay themselves to their own feudal superiors. They are everywhere depriving the people of the common lands, and rack-renting their tenants. They harass and oppress the poor man by the exercise of a variety of feudal rights such as "castle-ward rent" (rent for the repair of the lord's castle in lieu of service). Besides the total suppression of the agrarian abuses, these sturdy Norfolk farmers will be content with nothing less than a clean sweep of all the oppressive customs and privileges inherited from the past. They will make an end of serfdom in any shape or form. "We pray that all bondmen may be made free, for God made all men free by His precious blood shed." They will have the rivers "free and common to all men for fishing and passage." They have, moreover, grievances against the parson as well as the squire, condemn pluralities and non-residence, and demand that parsons who cannot preach the word of God shall be deprived of their benefices. The aspiration after social emancipation was far less priest-ridden in Norfolk than in Cornwall and Yorkshire. It had evidently more sympathy with religious reform, and had in this respect also much in common with the anti-clerical spirit of the social movement in Germany.

Somerset felt the force of these demands, and, while condemning the resort to violent courses, promised to do his best to bring about amendment by means of commission and Parliament. He offered a free pardon as an inducement to disperse. Kett and his rustic following were, however, serving the

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commonwealth under the Oak of Reformation, and could not appreciate the logic that would pardon such useful citizens. They persisted in dispensing natural justice for the benefit of the commonwealth, and there was therefore nothing for it but a trial of strength between this gratuitous popular government and the official government. The official government accordingly despatched the Marquis of Northampton with an army to vindicate its authority. Northampton entered Norwich in the beginning of August, repelled an attack by the rebel host from Mousehold, and held the city for a few days, but was forced to retire as the result of a second determined onslaught. "We seek nothing," said they resolutely, in answer to Northampton's herald, "but to maintain the king's royal estate, the liberty of our country, and the safety of the commonwealth, which is oppressed by the gentlemen. This we will do, and do like men in the quarrel."

It was only by dint of desperate fighting that Lord Warwick with a second army, in which there was a large body of German *landsknechts* employed against the Scots, at last gained the upper hand in the fierce encounter in Dussinsdale on the 27th August. Kett, who escaped the slaughter in Dussinsdale, was caught, tried by special commission at Westminster, sentenced to death, and hung on the top of Norwich Castle on the 7th of December. A few of the other leaders and a number of their followers were likewise hanged, but there was no indiscriminate and brutal retaliation as in Germany.

The simultaneous rising in Yorkshire was less formidable and equally unlucky. Here, too, the rebels professed their determination to establish a popular government, and succeeded in murdering a few of the county gentlemen before they succumbed to the county militia.

Thus in England, as in Germany, the Reformation was no gospel of deliverance from the wrongs of the common man. Its leaders had no sympathy with revolutionary violence, though some of them, like Latimer, spoke out manfully against the oppression of the poor by the rich. They courted the goodwill of a corrupt government whose protection was essential to their cause, and preached submission to the powers that be.

That cause advanced by leaps and bounds in the short

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period of Edward's reign. Under the auspices of the Protector, Cranmer at last came out of his shell. His Protestant convictions had been steadily growing, though he had been compelled to keep them under restraint and shape his religion in accordance with the will of his imperious master. He was a mild-tempered, cautious, timid man, and had compromised his reputation by his submission to the strong will of a king who could ill brook contradiction. Henry rewarded his pliancy by protecting him against the machinations of enemies like Gardiner and Norfolk to ruin him and send him to the doom of his fellow-reformer, Thomas Cromwell. Compared with Luther or Calvin, he makes but a sorry figure as a reformer under the most self-willed of potentates. Luther was a staunch supporter of princes, but he could speak out like a man against his princely patrons on occasion, and it is impossible to imagine a Luther acting the part of a Cranmer towards Henry VIII. The cautious archbishop shed the old creed in instalments, and the instalments came just when they were called for. This might be moderation ; it looks uncommonly like opportunism. It must be remembered in his exoneration that his full conversion to Protestantism was the work of research and meditation rather than of spiritual experience, and that there was no place at the court of Henry VIII. for a Luther or a Calvin. Even as it was, the breach with Rome and the official version of the English Bible were distinct steps to the goal that Cranmer would fain have reached, but feared to rush. It required all his suppleness to keep his head and his see at a time when others whose beliefs were materially his own were sent to the stake. His was not the martyr spirit, and in order to save his head and his see he had to do some unwelcome and inconsistent things. With the advent of Edward and the Protector he abandoned his reserve and his sophistry for the creed of Luther, and, before the end of the reign, even for that of Calvin. While it is probable that Protestantism could not have been permanently stamped out in England, even by a succession of Henrys, the immediate sequel of its history under Edward clearly shows that it had as yet no firm hold on the nation at large—was, in fact, at this stage a forced plant, whose vigour only assiduous nursing by the government could preserve.

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This assiduous nursing, indeed, produced premature growth, for which the personal and party passions of Henry's later reign had prepared the soil, and premature growth was followed by the inevitable collapse of the following reign. Two well-marked stages in that growth are represented by the teaching of the two Prayer Books, enacted under the auspices of Somerset and Northumberland respectively, in reference to the cardinal doctrine of the sacrament. The first (January 1549), in which the recipient receives the bread and wine by consecration as the body and blood of Christ, leaned to the Lutheran view of the real presence. In the second the victory of the Calvinist doctrine is evident, the word "minister" being substituted for "priest" in the communion service, and "the bread" for "the sacrament of the body of Christ." The Calvinistic influence is as patent as that of Luther in the Forty-two Articles, though Cranmer seems to have drawn largely on the Augsburg Confession. But the emphasis laid on the sole authority of Scripture in matters of faith, on predestination, on the Lord's Supper as a spiritual communion with Christ, has, it seems to me, a distinct Calvinistic ring.

This apparition of the master mind of Calvin in English history is of momentous importance. The teaching of the Genevan reformer had by this time taken possession of at least the more advanced section of the English Protestants. Calvin urged the young king by letter in the end of October 1548 to go forward on the road of reform, and reformed refugees like Ochin, Bucer, Martyr, John à Lasco, and John Knox, whose views were Calvinist rather than Lutheran, found in Cranmer a warm patron. Bucer, whom the aggressive anti-Protestant policy of Charles V. drove from Strassburg, became professor of theology at Cambridge, Martyr at Oxford. Calvin, Bucer, Martyr, à Lasco, and Knox would not hear of toleration of Romanist or semi-Romanist practices. These men might differ on particular points of Protestant theology, but they were all eager to move the English Church decisively and irrevocably away from Rome. To this end Bucer and Martyr disputed manfully, and, of course, very dogmatically, against the obscurantists of the universities, and exhorted the boy king and his ministers to uproot the errors of their opponents. Edward and Cranmer must do the will of God as

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revealed in the Scriptures, and not truckle by half measures to popery in "the reform of the bastard Christendom of the pope," as Calvin put it. The progress of the English Reformation in Edward's reign was, directly or indirectly, largely inspired from Strassburg and Geneva. Protestant England must come into line with Protestant Europe, as represented by Geneva and Strassburg, in doctrine and practice. Calvin and Bucer did not indeed insist on complete conformity in all particulars. They did not require the bishop to efface himself in preference to the presbyter. They were willing to wink at some usages at which the more radical of the English Protestants took offence. But the Bible, not use and wont, not mere policy, must be the arbiter of the Reformation. Hooper, who was nominated bishop of Gloucester, went so far in his zeal for pristine simplicity as to refuse to be consecrated in episcopal vestments, which to him, as to Andrew Melville after him, were nothing but "popish rags," and had no warrant in Scripture. Bucer advised him to submit, and Peter Martyr saw no essential offence to the gospel in a white surplice. Submission was ultimately wrung from him after a short incarceration in the Fleet, but the tendency which he championed was, nevertheless, the logical outcome of the Calvinist principle of the sole authority of the Bible in the Church, and this logic was to work great results in the Puritan school, of which Hooper was the protagonist.

The death of King Edward put for the present a summary end to the artificial stimulation of the English Reformation under foreign auspices. In spite of Government forcing, Protestantism had not taken deep root in English soil. It was still an exotic, which would not blossom into vigorous life. The change was not a healthy one, for many of the men who promoted it were not honest or clean-handed. Somerset, who patronised reform so staunchly in both Church and State, was not a mere schemer for personal ends, though he belied some of his professions by his greed of Church property. Northumberland, who outdid his Protestant zeal, certainly was. He posed as an ardent Protestant in order the better to compass his designs of personal aggrandisement, and died at last a repentant son of the Roman Church. Many of the supporters of both Somerset and Northumberland were of the

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same calibre, and the corruption, the misgovernment, rampant under the auspices of both, was scandalous in the extreme. Moreover, the new creed and worship were still flouted as sacrilege by the mass of the people, and even the most aggressive and advanced of the Protestants were forced to own the fact, in spite of the persecution of both obstinate Romanists like Gardiner and Bonner, and the burning of ultra-Protestants like Joan Bocher and George van Parris. "A great part of the country is popish," wrote Hooper to Bullinger in June 1549, "and sets at naught God and the magistrates." No wonder, therefore, that at the accession of Mary, against whom Northumberland vainly attempted to pit Lady Jane Grey, the Romanist reaction swept over the land in full flood. Parliament obsequiously decreed the restoration of the old faith, and even, on receiving an assurance as to the appropriated Church lands, the supremacy of the pope. Here again the royal will is the grand factor in the revolution in favour of Rome, as the royal will had been the grand factor against it under Henry and Edward. England changed its official creed to royal order, but the change backwards to Rome at the fiat of Queen Mary should be final, if the royal bigotry could help it.

The short reign of the fanatic monarch was, as far as the exercise of a despotic authority over the conscience was concerned, the most terrible in English annals. It was a reaction, not only of bigotry but of barbarism, and throws a dark light over the genius of Romanism as an engine of despotism. The Marian persecution lasted three and a half years, from the spring of 1555 to the autumn of 1558. It was quickened at intervals by some sombre reflection in the mind of the death-stricken fanatic who wore the crown of England, and whose bigotry was steeled by the barbarous sophistries of some of her advisers. A famine or a conspiracy would bring with it an access of devotion or a fit of vengeance, from which alike the Protestants suffered. Gardiner died in November 1555—Gardiner the instrument rather than the author of these horrors, though he advocated the re-enactment of the heresy laws. But Bonner and Pole remained—the Bloody Bonner of popular parlance; Pole, the hangman and scourge of the English Church, as Archbishop Parker subsequently called

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him. Hooper and Rogers were among the first victims of this English inquisition; the turn of the other leaders, Latimer, Ridley, and finally Cranmer, soon came.

The scene at the martyrdom of Ridley and Hooper harrowed the nerves even of a generation hardened by such scenes of brutality. They were literally roasted over a fire of green faggots, and suffered the most excruciating torture before death gave the finishing touch to a heroism that convinced England at last that Protestantism was a creed worth dying as well as living for. Here is the account of the monstrous suffering to which Hooper was subjected at Gloucester, as given in Foxe's "Acts and Monuments." "Then commandment was given that the fire should be kindled. But there were brought no more green faggots than two horses could carry upon their backs, so it was a good while before it burned. At length it burned about him, but the wind blew the flame from him, so that he was only touched by the fire. A few dry faggots were then brought, and a new fire kindled, and that burned at the lower parts, but did small power above because of the wind, except that it burned his hair, and scorched his skin a little. While he was thus suffering, he prayed, saying mildly and not very loud, 'O Jesus, Thou son of David, have mercy upon me and receive my soul.' He wiped both his eyes with his hands, and beholding the people, said with a loud voice, 'For God's love, good people, let me have more fire;' and all this while his lower parts burned, for the faggots were so few that the flame did not burn strongly at his upper parts. A third fire was shortly after kindled, which was more extreme than the others; and then the bladders of gunpowder broke, but this did him little good, as they were so misplaced, and the wind had such power. In this fire he prayed with a loud voice, 'Lord Jesus have mercy upon me! Lord Jesus receive my spirit!' And these were the last words he was heard to utter. But even when he was black in the mouth, and his tongue swollen so that he could not speak, yet his lips moved till they were shrunk to the gums; and he knocked his breast with his hands until one of his arms fell off, and then knocked still with the other, when the fat, water, and blood dropped out at his finger's ends, until by renewing the fire his strength was gone, and

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his hand did cleave fast in knocking to the iron upon his breast. So immediately, leaning forwards, he yielded up his spirit."

Equally brutal was the scene at Ridley's martyrdom at Oxford, the centre of English culture. "Then," relates Foxe, "they brought a faggot, kindled with fire, and laid it down at Ridley's feet. To whom Latimer spoke in this manner. 'Be of good comfort, brother Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England, as I trust shall never be put out.' And so the fire being kindled, when Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried with a loud voice, 'Lord into Thy hands I commend my spirit; Lord receive my spirit;' and repeated this latter part often in English. Latimer saying as vehemently on the other side, 'O Father of heaven receive my soul;' he received the flame as if embracing it. After he had stroked his face with his hands, and, as it were, bathed them a little in the fire, he soon died, as it appears, with very little pain. . . . But Ridley lingered longer, by reason of the badness of the fire, which only burned beneath, being kept down by the wind, which, when he felt, he desired them for Christ's sake to let the fire come to him, which when his brother-in-law heard . . . heaped faggots upon him, so that he clean covered him, which made the fire more vehement beneath; so that it burned all his lower parts, before it once touched the upper, and that made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often desired them to let the fire come to him, saying, 'I cannot burn.' Which was apparent, for after his legs were consumed, he showed his other side towards us, shirt and all, untouched with flame! Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call unto God still, 'Lord have mercy upon me; let the fire come unto me, I cannot burn.' In which pain he suffered till one of the standers-by with his bill pulled off the faggots above, and where Ridley saw the flame come up he leaned himself to that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was seen to stir no more, but turned on the other side, falling down at Latimer's feet. . . . Surely it moved hundreds to tears in beholding the horrible sight."

The rank and file were burned in batches. Now it was a batch of six men, or a trio of women consumed to ashes at

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Smithfield, now half a dozen victims burned together at Colchester, now as many as thirteen at Stratford le Bow. In Guernsey, the burning of a mother and her two daughters swells the tale of barbarity with unutterably shocking details. At Canterbury, Archbishop Pole was responsible for the destruction of eighteen victims, while five died of starvation and maltreatment in the archiepiscopal prison. The horrors of imprisonment were indeed scarcely less revolting than the torments of the stake. In such fœtid dens as Bonner's coal-house death frequently intervened to lighten the labours of its episcopal henchmen. The total number of the victims of the flames was little short of three hundred, and one authority adds another hundred who died of starvation and maltreatment. The fury of bigotry sated itself with savage inhumanity towards the dead as well as the living. The bodies of Bucer and Fagius, which tainted the churches of St Mary and St Michael at Oxford, were exhumed and burned. That of the wife of Peter Martyr, which was interred near the tomb of St Frideswide at Cambridge, was dug up and thrown into a cesspool.

How, you ask, could men inhabiting a civilised country stoop to action so brutal? Because some canting dotards had possession of the conscience of a fanatically disposed sovereign, and presumed, in the true spirit of the mediæval obscurantist, to distort Christianity with their hideous sophistries. There was, moreover, in Mary, as in her father, a vein of vindictive cruelty, which saw, in disobedience to her will, one of the blackest of crimes. The Marian persecution was the outcome of the Tudor imperiousness as well as of religious fanaticism, and to some extent the Protestants, who strenuously appealed to conscience against the edicts of queen, Parliament, and the Church, were the victims of their opposition to the will of the ruler as well as the will of the pope. These Protestants, when in power under Edward VI., had deprived and imprisoned Catholic bishops; they had burned two persons, Joan Bocher and Van Parris, for heterodox views of the incarnation, and for this brutality they deserve the most severe censure; they had demanded conformity to the Prayer Book and the Forty-two Articles; they had formulated the abominable opinion that the denial of the doctrines of the Christian religion was a

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crime worthy of death. They had not systematically haled to dungeon and stake all who disagreed with them; they had not burned dissidents like Gardiner and Bonner. Some, like the doctor in the third dialogue of the "Discourse of the Common Weal," were even advocates of freedom of discussion in religious controversy. They had, happily, refrained from damning their cause with wholesale atrocities, which made the Romanist creed seem the creed of savages, and they were ere long to reap the fruit of their forbearance and their heroic suffering in the recoil from this savage cult. The brutal persecution of the Protestants defeated itself. It made the queen and her bloody creed widely unpopular; it intensified the hatred of the pope; it gave rise to abortive conspiracies in favour of Elizabeth, such as the Dudley conspiracy, which was checked before it could develop; and it paved the way for the irrevocable triumph of the reformers under that queen whose life the bigots would fain have taken.

It is hardly possible to palliate these enormities by the plea of the spirit of the age. Persecution for religious opinions was the accepted dogma of the day. But it may be taken as certain that such inhuman persecution of Catholics by Protestants would have been impossible, and it may be assumed that Catholics in general would have been equally incapable of such enormities. In these matters it is usually the few fanatics in authority that give the lead.

The attempt to exonerate the Church of blame by plausibly holding the civil authority responsible for the penalties inflicted is a very feeble one. A recent historian of the English Church during this period, Mr Gairdner for instance—and he apparently a Protestant—lays great stress on this fact. He forgets that the spirit of persecution which dictated these atrocities was the spirit of the men who conducted these trials. If they did not carry out the sentence, it was not because they were in favour of clemency, but because it was not their business to do so. They certainly were not the men to wash their hands, on this flimsy pretext, of the blood so cruelly shed under their bigoted *régime*. Such judgments are lacking in the courage to face the facts, and I am glad to be able to quote at least one Catholic writer, Mr Tierney, who, in his notes to Dodd's "Church History," does not hesitate to use

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strong language in condemnation of the brutal conduct of his fellow-religionists of the reign of Mary: "To detail them (these horrors) would be a revolting task; the mind would shudder, the heart sicken, at the recital. At times a momentary suspension of cruelty seemed to indicate the presence of a milder spirit. But the illusion was quickly dissipated. New commissions were issued, new barbarities were enacted, and a monument of infamy was erected, which, even at the distance of three centuries, cannot be regarded without horror.

SOURCES.—For the Humanist reform movement, see Seebohm, The Oxford Reformers, 3rd ed. (1887), Lupton's Dean Colet (1887), and Einstein's Italian Renaissance in England (1902). For the English Reformation the following are important—Foxe, The Acts and Monuments of the Church, edited by Seymour (1838); Sander, Historia Schismatis Anglicani (1585), trans. by Lewis (1877); Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials (Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary), Clarendon Press (1822), Annals of the Reformation (1824), and Memorials of Cranmer (1812); Burnet, History of the Reformation, edited by Nares (1841), and Pocock (1865); Froude, History of England (ed. 1900); Brewer, Reign of Henry VIII., edited by Gairdner (1884); Hallam, Constitutional History, vol. i. (ed. 1884); Dodd, Church History of England, edited by Tierney (1839); Fuller, Church History of Britain, edition by Brewer (1845); Tytler, History of England under Edward VI. and Mary (1839); Blunt, Reformation in England (1869); Dixon, History of the Church of England, vols. i. to iv. (1877-1891); Gairdner, The English Church in the Sixteenth Century, vol. iv. of A History of the English Church, edited by Stephens and Hurst (1902); Perry, History of the English Church, vol. ii. (1887); Pollard, Cranmer (1904); Merriman, Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell (1902). For the Social movement contemporary with the English Reformation, see especially the following—Select Works of Robert Crowley, more particularly The Way to Wealth, edited for Early English Text Society by J. M. Cowper (1872); Starkey, England in the Reign of Henry VIII., ed. by Cowper for ditto, and reprinted 1898; The Four Supplications, edited by Cowper for ditto (1871-72);

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Ballads from Manuscripts, edited by F. J. Furnivall (1868); Discourse of the Commonweal of England, edited by Miss Lamond, who attributes it to John Hales (1893); Latimer's Sermons, edited for Parker Society by Corrie (1844-45); Lever's Sermons, Arber's edition (1870); Gilpin's Sermons (Gilpin's Life, 1753); Cheeke, Hurt of Sedition (1549); Russell, Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk (1859), containing original Documents, and incorporating the contemporary works of Sotherton (Commoyson) in Norfolk (1549), and Nevylle, De Furoribus Norfolciensium; Pollard, England Under Protector Somerset (1900), a most useful study, very favourable to the Protector; also Froude, Dixon, &c.

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CHAPTER XIII.

The Early Puritans.

On personal as well as national grounds Elizabeth had no choice but to establish Protestantism. She was not a very ardent Protestant at best, but to follow the lines of her predecessor and acknowledge the pope was impossible. The majority of the English people had now had enough of priestcraft under papal auspices, and, as the daughter of Ann Boleyn, Elizabeth had no reason to love the pope. She had already refused, at the peril of her life, to conform to her sister's creed, and she now, as her father had done before her, stepped into the pope's place as head of the English Church. She indeed eschewed the title of supreme head, and contented herself with that of supreme governor of the Church, but the Act of Supremacy, by which Parliament invested her with supreme ecclesiastical jurisdiction, is as explicit as that of Henry VIII. in its disavowal of the papal authority. It repealed the laws by which Mary had acknowledged that jurisdiction, and revived those of Henry, by which it had been abolished. It required the bishops and clergy, as well as all officials of the crown, not only to recognise the royal supremacy in all causes, ecclesiastical as well as civil, but to renounce allegiance to "all usurped and foreign power and authority, spiritual and temporal," under penalty of high treason for a third offence (Act of Supremacy, 1559). In regard to the subject of worship, Parliament, while reviving the Protestant service of King Edward, was less uncompromisingly hostile to the adherents of the old faith. It adopted the Second Prayer Book of King Edward, with sufficient modification of the phraseology referring to the celebration of the sacrament to meet the prevailing variety of theological opinion, and to this book all the clergy were bound to conform. The rubric was, however, so worded that a devout Catholic might see in the bread and

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wine the real presence, a rigid Protestant the mere emblems of a spiritual communion (Act of Uniformity, 1559). This was certainly the most feasible expedient in the circumstances. It was a compromise, and compromise was, from the statesman's point of view, imperative. Parliament refrained, too, from making any radical alteration in the government of the Church. It left the historic episcopacy intact. It did not sweep away the fabric of mediæval ecclesiastical legislation, and, in view of the existing situation, it would have meant anarchy to attempt to do so. The formal creed of the Church was, however, decisively Protestant, though the Forty-two Articles of Cranmer, modified to thirty-nine and altered in some points, were not formally adopted by Convocation till 1563, or ratified by Parliament till 1571. In an officially Protestant Church there could be no room for distinctively Romish doctrines.

The final reformation of the English Church was thus of a much milder type than in the reformed Churches of the Continent. It held the middle way, but in this *via media* the Romanists were not minded to walk at the royal dictation. The Marian bishops refused almost to a man to conform, and their sees were filled by Protestant nominees of the crown. In the place once occupied by Cranmer, and vacated by Cardinal Pole, who went to his last account a few hours after Mary herself, now stood Mathew Parker, the second Protestant archbishop of Canterbury. The deprived bishops were very leniently treated, compared with the barbarous persecution from which their Protestant predecessors had suffered. Bonner was sent to the Marshalsea; the others were lodged in the Tower or the Fleet for contumacy. They and their adherents among the laity and the clergy were, however, liable by the Act of Supremacy to persecution and penalties more or less severe, if they persisted in professing allegiance to Rome. That Act prohibited all and sundry from asserting the jurisdiction of the pope by voice or pen, and it was strengthened by the Acts of 1563, 1571, and 1585. Moreover, the Act of Uniformity, which made Anglican Protestantism the only legal religion, debarred any one from publicly dissenting from it on pain of fine or imprisonment. It compelled every one to attend the Protestant service on pain of incurring censure and fine. The

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conscientious Romanist could hardly complain if Parliament took the precaution of declaring the absolute sovereignty of the queen of England within her own dominions. To recognise the jurisdiction of any foreign prince or potentate was incompatible with the independence of the realm, as well as with the sovereignty of the queen. Protestantism once established, there could be no room, in the circumstances in which Elizabeth was placed, for the official recognition of the ecclesiastical primacy of the pope within the English dominions. The Romanist might reply that belief in the primacy of Peter's successor did not necessarily imply any lack of allegiance to his sovereign. But in an age in which allegiance to the pope involved active antagonism to heresy it was difficult, if not impossible, for even the patriotic Romanist to act up to his profession, and in any case allegiance to Rome had at this period a political bearing which it was impossible for Elizabeth and her Parliament to ignore with safety. Suppose the pope excommunicated the queen, which he ultimately did, how could any Englishman, who recognised his right to do so, consistently or honestly pose as a loyal subject? That the pope would sooner or later place under his ban the sovereign, who remained an obstinate Protestant, was a certainty. On political grounds, therefore, Elizabeth and her Parliament, having deliberately chosen to remain Protestant, had no alternative but to disown the papal jurisdiction, and debar all subjects from acknowledging it under penalty of high treason. To respect the liberty of the subject in this matter would have been to encourage rebellion on behalf of a foreign potentate, and would have been both suicidal and imbecile. On the other hand, the conscientious Catholic, like the conscientious Puritan, had ample reason to object to the Act of Uniformity as needlessly tyrannic. To compel men to go to church under penalty of censure and fine was to make them either hypocrites or rebels. The conscientious Catholic might well have been allowed to stay at home and repeat his paternoster, without incurring the charge of irreligion or treachery to the constitution. He might reasonably claim the right to adhere to his religious convictions as long as he did and said nothing against the queen's supremacy. But neither Romanist nor Protestant in this

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contentious age could rise to so rational and Christian a conception of religious liberty. Wherever either the Protestant or the Catholic was supreme, disability and persecution were the results. It must be said that censure and a fine of one shilling were remarkably mild punishments of Romanist dissent from the Anglican service. In Spain, France, the Netherlands, men and women were tortured and burned by a savage Inquisition for worshipping in accordance with conscience. And if conspiracy and revolt exposed many English Catholics to a harsher fate for the sake of their religion, it was not as martyrs of religious principle, but as rebels, that they incurred the penalty of treason with increasing facility. Plot after plot was hatched against Elizabeth's life and crown, and on behalf of her royal captive of Scotland, who was not only the object of chivalrous commiseration, but the hope of a Romanist restoration. Assassination was the weapon of the Jesuit conspirators, who worked in secret to compass the destruction of an excommunicated sovereign. And each plot only quickened the Protestant alarm, only steeled the Protestant determination to crush the secret enemy with all the rigour that legislation, in the interest of self-preservation, could devise. Hence the Acts of 1572, of 1581, of 1585, of 1587, of 1593, which showed an ascending scale of intolerance and severity. The Catholic might cry out in the name of liberty, but liberty has no true ring on the lips of assassins, or their abettors, on behalf of a foreign potentate. And it certainly requires a large meed of sophistry to be able to range the victims of allegiance to the pope among the martyrs of civil or religious liberty. Civil and religious liberty owed nothing to papist rulers like Philip II.; and if Philip had conquered England for the pope and himself, the Inquisition would have made short work, not only of English Protestantism but of English political institutions. Fortunately for political progress, the Spanish Philip and his mighty Armada did not succeed in making a second Spain of England.

Far otherwise was it in the case of the Recusants who, under the name of Puritans, challenged and suffered persecution for their resistance to the Act of Uniformity. The Puritans appealed to the Bible, the laws, conscience, in their

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struggle with an imperious queen and a tyrannic hierarchy, and their appeal was destined to have far-reaching consequences in the history of both religious and political liberty. It was not a mere pretext for disloyalty to the queen and the Protestant constitution. It sought to set up no foreign jurisdiction, no rival sovereignty, by the secret arts of the conspirator and the assassin. It was, indeed, denounced by the bishops as the nurse of sedition and anarchy. Was the queen not by law head of the Church, and did not the law require of all loyal subjects the recognition of her supremacy and conformity to the Prayer Book? Was it not, therefore, rebellion to question her ecclesiastical title or refuse conformity? The Puritan objection to the surplice was nothing less than rank sedition. On the contrary, the Puritans, even the most extreme of them, indignantly rebutted the charge of disloyalty. They disclaimed all political intrigue, hatched no political conspiracies. Their opposition to the queen's autocratic government might have ultimate political effects, was, in truth, the forerunner of a century of political revolution, but these early Puritans had no thought of bringing about such a revolution. They were, they maintained, religious reformers, not politicians, and, in spite of denunciation and persecution, they strenuously professed their readiness to serve her majesty to the utmost of their power, even if they insisted, in obedience to conscience, on what they called "a further reformation" of the Church. Their resistance, whether legally admissible or not, is a cardinal fact in the history of English political progress.

From the Calvinist point of view, the English Reformation was "a case of arrested development." The advanced reformers agreed with the more moderate men in respect of doctrine; they disliked the remnants of the old Church ceremonial. To the exiles who streamed back from Geneva, Zürich, Basel, Strassburg, Frankfurt, where they had learned, or been confirmed in their love of scriptural simplicity of worship, the surplice was an offence. It was equally offensive to kneel at communion, to use the sign of the cross in baptism, to bow at the name of Christ. To Elizabeth, on the other hand, these forms were important as sops to the lovers of the old ways. She was, moreover, herself a lover of ceremonial,

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and had the cross set up in her chapel royal, to the scandal of even bishops like Sandys, Grindal, and Jewel, not to speak of simple presbyterian ministers. She had an aversion to the wives of clergymen, and would fain have prohibited clerical matrimony. To the eye of men looking through the theological microscope of Geneva these things were magnified into sins. To the untheological eye they wear a less terrible aspect. It is not easy to see that there is any particular virtue in a black Geneva gown, or any heinous offence in a white English surplice. Even Calvin was not disposed to insist too rigidly on uniformity of practice in all churches, though he was drastic enough in applying the pruning hook within his own vineyard. His English disciples were less accommodating in this respect, and besides, these popish practices did not exhaust their grievances against the Elizabethan establishment. It was not sufficiently shaped in the mould of Scripture, as interpreted in the Calvinist school. It had pandered to tradition in its services, if not in its creed. It had retained the episcopal order, and the Bible knew no difference between bishop and presbyter. Its discipline was not inquisitorial enough for those who had grown narrow and intolerant and dictatorial in respect of moral liberty in the Puritan paradise of Geneva.

The growing strength of Puritanism was not long in making itself felt. In 1563 a series of articles condemning the sign of the cross in baptism, the practice of kneeling at communion, the use of organs, &c., were only rejected by the Lower House of Convocation by a majority of one. Even some of the bishops were discovered to be very tolerant of the prevalent dislike of the surplice and other emblems of popery among their clergy, and Mathew Parker, the archbishop of Canterbury, was sorely tried by the insubordination of what he called "Germanical natures." The uniformity so dear to Elizabeth was hard to maintain. "Some," according to a contemporary report, "say the service and prayers in the chancel, . . . some keep precisely the order of the book, others intermeddle psalms in metre; some say in a surplice, others without a surplice, . . . administration of the communion is done by some with surplice and cap, some with surplice alone, others with none, some with chalice; others with a

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common cap; some with unleavened bread; some with leavened; some receive kneeling, others standing, others sitting; some baptise in a font, some in a basin; some sign with the sign of the cross, others sign not. Apparel.—Some with a square cap, some with a round cap, some with a button cap, some with a hat." Evidently, a large section were staunch professors of Genevan simplicity of worship as well as of Genevan orthodoxy, and Archbishop Parker soon discovered that, for the sake of simplicity, this section were prepared to brave not only the royal displeasure, but the penalty of deprivation. When in 1566 he published a series of "Advertisements," enjoining the bishops to enforce conformity in worship, fully a third of the London clergy refused to submit, and were suspended or deprived. They protested loudly against this infringement of their Christian liberty, and the more resolute of them not only defended their opinions through the press, in spite of a rigorous press law, but continued to preach to their sympathisers in conventicles. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, at the queen's instigation, raided these schismatic meetings, and sent their leaders to Bridewell. Nevertheless, the Puritans, as they now began to be called, multiplied, though a section of them was not prepared to go the length of seceding from the official Church. Next to London, Cambridge was their stronghold. Many of the students and fellows, and some even of the masters of colleges, struck against the surplice. Worse still, the Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, Dr Cartwright, in co-operation with some of his fellow-divines, such as Lever, Wilcox, Deering, and Clarke, attacked the episcopal form of Church government as well as the surplice, and demanded nothing less than a revolution of Church polity on presbyterian lines. Nay, Parliament itself had become largely Puritan in sympathy during the first decade of Elizabeth's reign, and in 1571 the Commons, in spite of the opposition of the queen, nominated a committee to confer with the bishops on the further reformation of the Church. It passed an Act enforcing subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, from which, however, the clause of the twentieth article, referring to rites and ceremonies, was omitted; and the queen, who relished Calvinist doctrine as little as Calvinist simplicity, and sent a message to the

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Commons to refrain from meddling in such matters, was forced to give her assent.

It was to Parliament that the reformers addressed "The First Admonition" on behalf of a radical reform of Church government as well as ceremonial. The violent language of this philippic is that of men who are ready to lay their heads on the block for the truth for which they are persecuted, and who will neither comply nor compromise in these matters, in spite of all the penalties that "Her Majesty's High Commissioners" can inflict. They did not object to everything in the Prayer Book, but they would not be compelled to subscribe a compilation, as agreeable to the word of God, which "had been culled and picked out of that popish dunghill . . . the massbook, full of all abominations." Yea, the whole episcopal order "is drawn out of the pope's shop," and the episcopal government is, therefore, "antichristian and devilish, and contrary to the Scriptures." All the Church courts, from the archbishop's downwards, are "filthy quagmires which infect the whole nation with their abominations." The petitioners would be satisfied with nothing less than a Church government based on the presbyterian equality of ministers, and their election by the congregation. As for apparel, it is equally without scriptural warrant. But this is no mere controversy about garments; it is a quarrel about great principles. "Neither is the controversy betwixt them and us (as they would bear the world in hand) for a cap, a tippet, or a surplice, but for great matters concerning a true ministry and regiment of the Church according to the Word."

For presenting this revolutionary manifesto to Parliament, two of its joint-authors, Field and Wilcox, were arrested at the instigation of the bishops, and sent to Newgate. The Commons, however, again showed their Puritan sympathies by discussing two reform bills brought in by Mr Wentworth, and referring them to a select committee of both Houses. On this occasion Elizabeth was inflexible. She demanded the obnoxious bills, and forbade the Commons to discuss any proposal in reference to religion that had not received the approval of Convocation.

The episcopal party found a powerful controversialist in Dr Whitgift, vice-chancellor of Cambridge, who maintained,

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in answer to the First Admonition, that the Bible, though the absolute authority in doctrine, did not set up a hard-and-fast standard of discipline and Church government. Discipline and government were adaptable to circumstances. "The apostolical government was adapted to the Church in its infancy and under persecution, but was to be enlarged and altered as the Church grew to maturity, and had the civil magistrate on its side." The Bible, in other words, should be interpreted in the light of the first four centuries of the Church's history. Cartwright, who had been expelled from his chair and from the university, and driven into exile at Antwerp at Whitgift's instigation, inflexibly maintained, on the other hand, the sole authority of Scripture. "The holy Scripture," he insisted in "The Second Admonition to Parliament," "is not only a standard of doctrine, but of discipline and government, and the Church of Christ in all ages is to be regulated by them." It was in vain that Whitgift urged, in a second onslaught, considerations of reason and policy. "The question is not whether many things mentioned in your platform of discipline were fitly used in the apostles' time, or may now be well used in sundry reformed Churches; this is not denied; but whether, when there is a settled order in doctrine and government established by law, it may stand with godly and Christian wisdom to attempt so great alterations as this platform must needs bring in, with disobedience to the prince and laws, and unquietness of the Church and offence of many consciences." The Bible, not expediency, again retorted Cartwright in a second philippic, is the supreme arbiter in such matters, for have not the Fathers erred and corruption crept into the Church? "Therefore, they ought to have no further credit than their authority is warranted by the word of God and good reason; to prove their authority, without relation to this, is to bring an intolerable tyranny into the Church of God."

A far more powerful answer to Cartwright appeared twenty years later in Hooker's "Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity," written with an amplification of argument and a grandeur of diction to which no English controversialist had hitherto been equal, and which invests his book with a high literary and philosophical excellence. Hooker laboured to confute

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the Puritan champions by both reason and Scripture. He first fortifies his position by elucidating the operation of law in creation, in individuals, and in human societies. He thus at the outset emphasises the diversity of law. "As the actions of men are of sundry distinct kinds, so the laws thereof must accordingly be distinguished. There are in men operations, some natural, some rational, some supernatural, some politic, some finally ecclesiastical." All these have their proper laws, and his thesis is that, as man is a many-sided being, he is subject to a variety of laws, so that even in his religious life his action is to be regulated by these as well as by the injunctions of Scripture. "It is their (the Puritans) error to think that the only law which God hath appointed unto men in that behalf is the sacred Scripture." The law of reason, natural and positive laws, are equally applicable. From this general position he proceeds through a number of elaborately reasoned books to combat the Puritan contentions that Scripture is the only measure of conduct, that it must necessarily contain a form of Church government whose laws are unalterable, that the Anglican polity is corrupt and popish in the matter of orders, rites, and ceremonies, that these have been banished from all properly reformed Churches, whose example ought to be followed by the English Church. The fifth book is an elaborate defence of the Anglican worship, to which the Puritans take objection. The sixth maintains the Anglican practice against the Puritan view of Church discipline. The seventh and eighth respectively champion the episcopal jurisdiction against the presbyterian, and the ecclesiastical prerogative of the sovereign against both the papist and the presbyterian dogma of the independence of the Church.

The breadth of view, the reasonableness, the forceful diction of the "Ecclesiastical Polity" raise it to a high level as a controversial work. The note of reasonableness is especially commendable. I am not sure that, from the merely theological point of view, the Puritan had not the best of the argument, if regard be had to the fact that both sides accepted the Bible as an infallible and sufficient revelation. Such a revelation, the Puritan might forcibly contend, should give direction in so important a subject as Church government. Hooker, being as staunch a believer in the infallibility of the

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divine revelation as Cartwright, hardly scored on this point. He answers that Church polity is not necessarily a matter of special divine regulation. He finds, indeed, episcopacy and not presbytery in the New Testament; but even if episcopacy were not an apostolical institution, subsequent practice is a sufficient warrant for its existence. This was not good theological reasoning from the standpoint of an all-sufficient revelation, but it is very reasonable, and in the matter of reasonableness Hooker has it far and away over the Puritan dogmatist, who would prescribe a black gown instead of a white surplice in virtue of Scripture. He should have added, however, that if Church polity was a question of reason and not of revelation, it was not reasonable to persecute dissidents, in the intolerant spirit of the Court of High Commission, for mere nonconformity to an Act of Parliament which made the sovereign the supreme arbiter in matters ecclesiastical. His reasonableness was, nevertheless, not palatable to the more intolerant members of the anti-Puritan party, and already Dr Bancroft is found proclaiming in the true theological spirit the divine right of bishops in opposition to the divine right of presbyters. His reasonableness thus by no means settled the matter to the satisfaction of the strictly theological minds *pro* and *contra*. It only aggravated contention on both sides, and this contention took a political trend, which invested it with momentous consequences during the new century about to open. The divine right of bishops went to support the divine right of kings; the divine right of presbyters was compatible with the rights of the people, and tended to nurture opposition to arbitrary kings. England, at the end of Elizabeth's reign, had not heard the last word in the controversy.

Hooker's genius did not earn him high preferment. Whitgift had better fortune, though his performance is far below the level of the "Ecclesiastical Polity." Elizabeth made him Dean of Lincoln, and showed her growing aversion for his antagonists by accentuating their persecution. In October 1573 she issued a proclamation rebuking the slackness of the bishops and ordering them to put down all nonconformist meetings, and severely punish all nonconformist preachers, "on pain of her majesty's high displeasure for their negligence

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and deprivation from their dignities and benefices." She was especially angry with some of the more moderate bishops for countenancing "the prophesyings," or assemblies for discussion and edification which had come into vogue in nearly every diocese. The ministers of a district would meet on certain days to expound a text and debate some point of doctrine under the presidency of a moderator appointed by the bishop. Such discussions were an admirable means of stimulating thought and training the clergy in public speaking, but it savoured too much of innovation and license to find favour with a ruler to whom formality was an essential of religion. She gave strict injunctions to Archbishop Parker to suppress "these vain prophesyings." The utmost limit of theological teaching which she would permit the clergy was to read one of the prescribed homilies from the pulpit. Independent preaching could only lead to heresy and confusion. To the Puritan, on the other hand, preaching was the grand essential of public worship. It was the nurse of intellectual and spiritual life, and was infinitely preferable to the official formalism which constituted her majesty's religion. It was a much-needed antidote to the intellectual and spiritual dulness which the precise observance of certain prescribed attitudes and formalities tends to induce. Uniformity may be necessary in an army, and an army is an admirable machine in its way. But an army does not reason, does not initiate, and a Church modelled after the pattern of the conventional military machine is apt to stagnate, whether its form be presbyterian or episcopal. Form is essential to life, but it is the life that is nevertheless the essential thing. And certainly there was more life in the impassioned Puritan sermon, with all its extravagance, than in the prescribed homily. The Puritan sermons gave a new impulse, intellectual as well as spiritual, to the age in its own fashion; and the age, which had for long slumbered in the atmosphere of priestly formulary, was at last beginning to yawn and stretch its stiffened members.

These prophesyings, which offended Elizabeth as nurseries of insubordination, were not necessarily the fruit of a recalcitrant spirit. Many of those who frequented them were not even Puritans. They went to these meetings because they

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hungered and thirsted for something more satisfying than the sottish pleasures of the ale-house. The more sober-minded of the parishioners of Balsham in Cambridgeshire, or Strethill in Essex, for instance, assembled together to study the Bible and improve their morals instead of getting drunk and gambling away their earnings at cards and dice. Nothing was further from their minds than disobedience or disrespect to the queen. "For that heretofore we have at divers times spent and consumed our holidays vainly in drinking at the ale-house and playing at cards, tables, dice, and other vain pastimes, not meet for us and such of our calling and degree, for the which we have been often blamed of our parson, we thought it better to bestow the time in soberly and godly reading of the Scriptures, only for the purpose aforesaid and no other. We do not favour or maintain any of the opinions of the Anabaptists, Puritans, Papists, and Libertines, but would be glad to learn our duty towards God, our prince, and magistrates, towards our neighbours and our families, in such sort as becomes good and faithful and obedient subjects, and it is our greatest and only desire to live, follow, and perform the same accordingly, as God shall give us grace."

To the legal and ecclesiastical mind this might be nonconformity; it was certainly Christianity. And to check this kind of Christianity the legal mind drew up proclamations and devised penalties on the pretext that to worship otherwise than the law prescribed was equivalent to felony. Suspensions and imprisonments were accordingly multiplied, with the result that a large number of earnest-minded people, who would have been content to remain within the Church, were driven away from it. Had a reasonable liberty been accorded, dissent would probably not have split the Protestants into two bitterly antagonistic camps. The sticklers for uniformity and the sticklers for simplicity were driven asunder by the maladroit harshness which aggravated the spirit of resistance. Though Cartwright and his followers might remain within the pale of the Church in a state of chronic rebellion, the more resolute of the sectaries who followed Brown and Barrow shook the dust off their feet from a persecuting Church, and drew a considerable number of earnest-minded men and women along with them. The tendency to this kind of

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dissent had shown itself, though in furtive fashion, even in the reign of Edward VI. It derived strength from the narrow policy of the official episcopal zealots. "I find," wrote Bishop Parkhurst of Norwich, to Parker, "that rough and severe methods do the least good, and that the contrary has won over divers; and therefore I choose to go this way rather than with others to overrule with vigour and severity." Even Parkhurst, however, was forced by the proclamation of 1573 to act the part of the persecutor and suspend as many as three hundred of his clergy.

Dr Edmund Grindal, who succeeded Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1575, attempted to steer a more moderate course than his vigorous predecessor. He was a mild-tempered man, with a leaning to Calvinism, and encouraged, while regulating, the prophesyings. To these prophesyings the people might be admitted as listeners, but no layman or deprived minister might take part in them, and no speaker was at liberty to attack the doctrine or rites of the Church. So regulated, it is difficult to see how these "exercises" could foster schism and insubordination, but imperious Elizabeth hated and feared public discussion even under strict episcopal supervision, and again ordered her bishops to suppress them and imprison defaulters. This order Grindal refused to obey in a spirited letter to the queen, which does him infinite honour. He defended preaching in preference to the mere reading of the prescribed homilies as "the ordinary means of salvation," whereby also men were taught their duty to God and the queen. "If your majesty comes to the city of London never so often, what gratulation, what joy, what concourse of people is there to be seen. . . . Yea, what acclamations and prayers to God for your long life, and other manifest significations of inward and unfeigned love, . . . joined with the most humble and hearty obedience, are there to be heard. Whereof cometh this, madam, but of the continual preaching of God's word in that city, whereby that people hath been plentifully instructed in their duty towards God and your majesty? On the contrary, what bred the rebellion in the north (glancing at the late rising of the popish lords)? Was it not papistry and ignorance of God's word, through want of often preaching? And in the time of that rebellion were not all men of all estates

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that made profession of the gospel most ready to offer their lives for your defence, insomuch that one parish in Yorkshire, which by continued preaching had been better instructed than the rest (Halifax, I mean), was able to bring three or four thousand able men into the field to serve you against the said rebels? How can your majesty have a more lively trial and experience of the effects of much preaching, and of little or no preaching? The one worketh most faithful obedience, and the other worketh most unnatural disobedience and rebellion." He claimed that the exercises were legal on the ground of the canons and constitutions which empowered the bishops to appoint them for the better education of the clergy in the Scriptures. He could not, he plainly added, send out the required injunctions without offence of the majesty of God. He was willing to surrender his office; he could not violate his conscience. He even ventured to rebuke the autocratic conduct of the queen, and begged her "not to pronounce so peremptorily on matters of faith and religion as you may do in civil matters, but to remember that, in God's cause, the will of God, and not the will of any earthly creature, is to take place." "Sic volo, sic jubeo," is the antichristian voice of the pope over again. "Remember, madam, that you are a mortal creature. . . . And although you are a mighty prince, He which dwelleth in heaven is mightier."

For this spirited epistle the brave archbishop was suspended by the enraged queen for six months, and, on his persistent refusal to retract, the suspension was continued to the last year of his life. His harsh treatment intimidated his brethren into compliance with the royal will, and the prophesyings fell in the meantime into abeyance, to be revived later as an exclusively clerical assembly. Grindal's large-heartedness even went the length of recognising the orders of the presbyterian clergy of Scotland, and we may justly reckon him among the martyrs of enlightened opposition to the exaggerated Elizabethan notion of prerogative over the conscience.

Elizabeth took care to put in Grindal's place a man who would not scruple to enforce her autocratic will. This man she found in Cartwright's antagonist, Dr Thomas Whitgift, who already owed to her favour the deanery of Lincoln and the bishopric of Worcester. Whitgift proved as remorseless

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a persecutor as he had been a bitter controversialist. His was the legal and ecclesiastical mind incarnate. He was as narrow on the one side as Cartwright was on the other, and from the legal and ecclesiastical point of view there might seem clamant need for strong measures. Puritanism had not been crushed by proclamations and episcopal persecutions. Cartwright and his followers had not formally seceded from the Church, had in fact deliberately adopted the policy of indirectly, and not quite honestly, revolutionising it from within. Their plan was to organise the nonconforming ministers of certain districts in classes or presbyteries, to combine the classes of a larger area in a provincial synod, and to convene representatives at London from the provinces in a national assembly, as occasion should offer, preferably during the meeting of Parliament, when the concourse of members would be most likely to escape observation. The ministers should be called by the congregations where the people were favourable to the Puritan cause, and should then seek ordination from the bishop. The churchwardens and poor collectors should act as elders and deacons. Subscription might be made to the Articles as far as they concerned doctrine, but not to those bearing on rite and discipline. Thus stealthily the leaven should work till the whole Church was transformed on the model of the Calvinistic polity, as elaborated by Travers in the "Book of Discipline" in 1574. They would outwit the enemy, and carry the position by strategy rather than open attack. It was not an heroic method, though many of these plotters had suffered for their opinions, and were driven to devious courses by persecution. It might have succeeded under a Grindal; it had no chance of success with a Whitgift in Grindal's place.

To the hastier spirits it was, too, a weak truckling to error; and the hastier spirits, under the name of Brownists (so called after their leader Robert Brown, a relative of Lord Burghley, who preached at large the crusade against prelacy), turned on their persecutors and boldly challenged the authority of the hierarchy and its supreme governor to rule the Church and persecute dissenters. These Brownists or Barrowists, as they also came to be called from the name of another leader, were opposed to both the presbyterian and the episcopal form of Church government. They were the precursors of the Inde-

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pendents of a later time. To these men the liturgy and government of the Anglican Church were sheer popery. In Church government they were pure democrats. To the congregation, as a Christian brotherhood, they attributed the sole right of regulating congregational affairs. It should elect all its office-bearers, from the minister downwards. On the vote of the members all jurisdiction depended, and each congregation was independent of every other in the management of its affairs. Congregational autonomy was absolute, and on this autonomy the State might not encroach except in things temporal. The laity might prophesy to their hearts' content; there was no distinction between laic and cleric, and the congregational vote which conferred the office of minister might recall it. Priesthood was unscriptural, and with a Church, whose ministers were priests, which was subject to unchristian laws and enforced legalised doctrines, they would have no communion. Nay, they would not hold fellowship with any body of believers that did not share their own views. On this point they were more exclusive and intolerant than their persecutors. They were, however, orthodox in doctrine, and in this respect they differed from other sectaries like the Anabaptists, the Family of Love, and an occasional Unitarian, who declared hostility not only to the episcopal order and the Prayer Book, but attacked some of the dogmas of the Thirty-nine Articles. To Unitarians like John Lewes the doctrine of the Trinity was both irrational and unscriptural. To the Anabaptists infant baptism was incompatible with regeneration, and they seem to have shared some of the more enlightened principles of the Continental sectaries from whom they took their name. Some of their distinctive opinions they seem to have imbibed from Dutch refugees, two of whom were barbarously burned as heretics at Smithfield in 1575. The Familists of Love, as the followers of Henry Nicholas, a Dutchman of Amsterdam, called themselves, claimed an inner light which, if we may believe their enemies, substituted the vagaries of the mystic imagination for the traditional dogmas, and left room neither for orthodoxy nor for morality. In reality they seem to have been pious people, who, like the modern Quakers, took their inspiration directly from the Holy Spirit instead of from the Apostles and the Fathers, and to

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have laid more stress on spiritual perfection than on dogmatic soundness. Like the Anabaptists, they were the object of the bitterest detestation and calumny on the part of both conformists and nonconformists. They were too advanced by a couple of centuries even for the Puritans, and were therefore monstrous, detestable heretics in the sight not only of a persecuting government and persecuting bishops, but of all respectable Christians. Nevertheless, these monstrous heretics, whatever liberties they might take with the letter of the New Testament, seem to have lived in accordance with its spirit. They were in truth, in some respects, the most enlightened persons of their generation, notably in their protest against the persecution of conscience in any shape or form by the civil or ecclesiastical power. It is a truth which only posterity, alas, can as a rule clearly perceive, that progress and power are often in inverse proportion. Power might be enthroned at Westminster or Canterbury ; progress was enthroned in some obscure separatist meeting-house. Even the Puritans of the Cartwright-Calvinist school were by no means the champions of the rights of conscience to which they appealed in defence of their own tenets. They recognised and strenuously taught the right of the magistrate to enforce the laws of the Church as conceived by themselves, and visit dissent from its doctrines and discipline with civil penalties. They disputed the exercise of the royal jurisdiction in things spiritual, they admitted its co-operation in the maintenance of ecclesiastical decrees and sentences. In their more extravagant moods they taught a doctrine of the subordination of the State to the Church that was theoretically as thorough as that of the most bigoted champions of Ultramontanism, though it is only fair to remember that it was practically modified by a system of representative Church government, under which the cleric element was checked by the laity. They would have persecuted their opponents, whether episcopal, popish, or independent, for their conscientious objections to their ecclesiastical domination. Persecution, it must be remembered, was the accepted doctrine of the age in England, as everywhere else ; toleration the rare intuition of the solitary thinker, the hated sect. The inconsistency of the Puritan outcry against coercion to the Prayer Book, and the Puritan proneness to invoke the law against

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antagonists, obnoxious to them on theological grounds, is naïvely expressed in a petition to the Privy Council from the justices of Suffolk on behalf of the nonconforming ministers. "The painful ministers of the Word are marshalled with the worst malefactors, persecuted, indicted, arraigned, and condemned for matters, as we presume, of very slender moment: some for leaving the holidays unbidden; some for singing the Psalm Nunc Dimittis in the morning; . . . some for leaving out the cross in baptism; some for leaving out the ring in marriage. . . . We serve her majesty and the country according to law; we reverence the law and the law-makers; when the law speaks we keep silence; when it commandeth, we obey. By law we proceed against all offenders; we touch none that the law spareth, and spare none that the law toucheth; we allow not of Papists, of the Family of Love, of Anabaptists and Brownists. No, we punish all these. And yet we are christened with the odious name of Puritans, a name compounded of the heresies above mentioned which we disclaim." The case of these "painful ministers" who refused to conform might be very pitiable. They would have merited more sympathy if they had learned to give others as much credit for conscientious objections as they claimed for themselves. For ministers as well as priests this is a hard lesson to learn.

To Dr Thomas Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, these varieties of heterodoxy made little or no difference. Every one who dissented from the Church as established by law was fair prey, whether Presbyterian, Brownist, Anabaptist, Familist of Love. The High Commission over which he presided swept them all into its net. He signalised his entrance on his new office by publishing, with the queen's sanction, a series of articles enjoining the strictest conformity on all recusants, and forbidding any one to preach or administer the sacraments unless he subscribed to the queen's ecclesiastical supremacy, the Prayer Book, and the Thirty-nine Articles. The legality of this proceeding was loudly questioned on cogent grounds; but, as Whitgift had the support of the queen, legal objections or appeals to the Council were of no avail to shield those who refused to subscribe from suspension, and a large number of ministers were suspended or deprived accordingly. But suspension or deprivation was mildness itself compared with the

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severities of the High Commission Court which Elizabeth empowered to try all ecclesiastical delinquents. Such a delegation of her ecclesiastical authority the queen was entitled to grant by the Act of Supremacy, for the purpose of reforming, correcting, or amending all heresies, abuses, offences with which the ecclesiastical authority was legally competent to deal. In virtue of this right, she had nominated commissions on several occasions, and invested the Commissioners of 1559 with the most ample powers. They might try delinquents by jury or not, as they found desirable, for they were authorised to inquire "as well by the oath of twelve good men, as also by witnesses, and all other ways and means ye can devise, for all offences contrary to the said several acts and statutes." They might arrest and try any one on mere suspicion, might compel such person on oath to incriminate himself, might punish by fine, imprisonment, or otherwise, all convicted of any manner of offence against the aforesaid laws. The tendency of subsequent nominations was to increase both the numbers and the powers of the Commissioners. The Commission of 1583, which consisted of forty-four members, was rendered more tyrannical by the inquisitorial procedure which Whitgift drew up for its guidance in a series of twenty-four articles. These articles constituted a veritable search-light, which flashed its rays into every recess of the life and conscience of the accused. They bore on private as well as public actions, and to the prying questions of their judges the accused were compelled to return a direct answer on oath, whether it was to their detriment or not (the *ex officio* oath of the canon law). Against this remorseless tyranny it was useless to appeal to the common law and the right to a legal trial. Whitgift could instance his commission under the royal seal, and play the tyrant in virtue thereof, in spite of any law or legal right to the contrary. It was, nevertheless, questionable whether the commission which conferred these arbitrary powers was not an excessive exercise of the royal prerogative, and the arbitrary methods which not only dispensed on occasion with trial by jury, but compelled a man to incriminate himself, and punished at discretion those who refused the oath, were certainly neither fair nor legal. They were repugnant to the

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spirit of justice, and, even in an age which had seen the law outraged for personal ends at the mere nod of the despot, there was a storm of protest against Whitgift's inquisition. Even Lord Burghley, who had to tread so warily in the presence of his imperious mistress, waxed indignant and outspoken. "But now, my good lord," wrote he to Whitgift, "by chance I am come to sight of an instrument of twenty-four articles of great length and curiosity, formed in a Romish style, to examine all manner of ministers in this time without distinction of persons . . . which I have read, and find so curiously penned, so full of branches and circumstances, as I think the Inquisition of Spain use not so many questions to comprehend and entrap their preys. I know your canonists can defend these with all their perticels, but surely . . . this judicial and canonical sifting of poor ministers is not to edify and reform. And in charity I think they ought not to answer to all these nice points, except they were very notorious offenders in papistry and heresy. . . . According to my simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too much savouring of the Romish inquisition, and is rather a device to seek for offenders than to reform any."

Whitgift retorted that his tactics were "more tolerable" than the procedure of the Court of Star Chamber. It was a poor answer for a Christian ecclesiastic to make, and the disgraceful chapter which the arbitrary severities of the High Commission added to the history of the maladministration of justice in England amply bears out the Lord Treasurer's asperities. For refusing the oath *ex officio*, many recusants were imprisoned for longer or shorter periods. These men might magnify compliance in small points of discipline into hideous sins, but the *ex officio* oath was assuredly no trifle. Moreover, their persecutors were equally prone to stickle for trifles, and in exacting this oath on pain of imprisonment they not only inflicted a vast amount of suffering, but outraged the principles of justice for the sake of such a transcendent formality as the sign of the cross in baptism. They charged men with sedition who objected to the domineering jurisdiction of despots like Aylmer, bishop of London, himself a renegade Puritan, and consequently one of the bitterest of their oppressors. They were vindictive as well as thorough, and when

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they failed to inveigle their victims into incriminating statements they tried to starve them into conformity. A deprived minister, Eusebius Paget, set up a school for the support of his large family, but the Commission pounced on him with the demand for subscription of the Articles, and on his refusal turned him adrift. Paget was, nevertheless, no separatist. "I was never present at any separatist assembly from the Church," he wrote to Sir John Hawkins, "but abhorred them. I always resorted to my parish church, and was present at service and preaching, and received the sacrament according to the Book. I thought it my duty not to forsake the Church because of some blemishes in it; but while I have endeavoured to live in peace, others have prepared themselves for war. I was turned out of my living by commandment. I afterwards preached without living or a penny of stipend, and when I was forbid I ceased. I then taught a few children to get a little bread for myself and mine to eat; some disliked this and wished me to forbear, which I have done, and am now to go as an idle rogue and vagabond from door to door to beg my bread, though I am able in a lawful calling to get it."

Equally deplorable was the treatment meted out to Cartwright, who ventured back from Antwerp in 1585 in broken health. He was thrown by Aylmer into prison and kept in durance for several months, until Whitgift released him at the intercession of the Earl of Leicester, who appointed him master of an hospital which he had founded at Warwick. The vigilant eye of the arch persecutor did not, however, lose sight of so dangerous an antagonist, and Cartwright was harassed by his animosity for several years to come. He forbade him to continue the refutation of the Romish translation of the New Testament from the Vulgate issued from Rheims, which he had begun at the request of the University of Cambridge. In 1590 he summoned him and several of his brethren before the Commission, and, on his refusal to answer on oath a series of inquisitorial questions, sent him to the Fleet. Cartwright was apparently a very indifferent conformist. He probably knew more about the presbyterian "Book of Discipline" and the stealthy practices of his presbyterian brethren than he cared to admit, but he categorically disclaimed any connection with the Martin Marprelate libels,

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and was amply justified in refusing to submit to the inquisition designed to incriminate him at all costs. For nearly two years the tough old man, tortured though he was with gout and stone, was kept in the Fleet, whilst the High Commission remitted him to the Star Chamber, and the Star Chamber remanded him back to the Commission. Petition after petition to the archbishop, the Lord Treasurer, and the Council to be released on bail elicited no response. One of his children died, and even an appeal to be allowed to visit his family, on an undertaking to return to his prison, made no impression on his persecutors. It was only after a direct appeal to the queen, seconded by the remonstrances of Lord Burghley, and the general indignation at such arbitrary encroachment on the liberty of the subject, that Elizabeth allowed him to return to Warwick, on promise of good behaviour, to spend the next ten years of his life in peace.

It would be easy to multiply these examples of the tactics by which the Commission outraged, on trifling pretexts, both justice and humanity. The following paragraph, culled at random from Neal's "History of the Puritans," must suffice: "Besides the Puritans already mentioned as suffering this year, the learned Dr John Walward, Divinity Professor at Oxford, was enjoined a public recantation, and suspended till he had done it, for teaching that the order of the Jewish synagogue and eldership was adopted by Christ and His apostles into the Christian Church, and designed as a perpetual Church government. He was also bound in a recognisance of £100 for his good behaviour. Mr Harsnet of Pembroke College was imprisoned at the same time for not wearing the surplice. Mr Edward Gillibrand, Fellow of Magdalen College, was forbid preaching, and bound in a recognisance of £100 to revoke his errors in such words as the Commissioners should appoint. His crime was speaking against the hierarchy and against the swelling titles of archbishops and bishops, for which Whitgift told him he deserved not only to be imprisoned and suspended, but to be banished the university. Mr Farrar, minister of Langham, in Essex, was charged with rebellion against the ecclesiastical laws, and suspended for not wearing the habits. Bishop Aylmer told him that except he and his companions would be conform-

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able, in good faith, he and his brethren the bishops would, in one quarter of a year, turn them all out of the Church. September 11th, Mr Udall of Kingston-upon-Thames, was suspended and imprisoned for keeping a private fast in his parish. In the month of January, Mr Wilson, Mr More, and two other ministers were imprisoned and obliged to give bond for their good behaviour. In the month of May, Mr Settle was summoned before the archbishop at Lambeth, and charged with denying the article 'Of the descent of our Saviour's soul into hell,' or the place of the damned. Mr Settle confessed it was his opinion that Christ did not descend locally into hell, and that Calvin and Beza were of his mind; which put the archbishop into such a passion that he called him ass, dolt, fool. . . . The Dean of Winchester asked him if he had subscribed. Settle answered, as far as the law required, that is to the doctrines of faith and the sacraments, but as touching other rites and ceremonies he neither could nor would. Then said the archbishop, 'Thou shalt be subject to the ecclesiastical authority.' Mr Settle replied, 'I thank God you can use no violence except upon my poor body.' So his grace committed him to the Gate-House, there to be kept close prisoner."

The fact that these stout recusants were among the most learned and zealous of the clergy increases the odium of their persecution. The Puritans were not ignorant fanatics; they were university bred men, who could read Latin, Greek, and sometimes Hebrew, and showed in controversy both scholarship and ability. Controversialists like Cartwright and Travers did honour to the university that reared them. While they stickled at the surplice and the sign of the cross, they were earnest preachers and active pastors. With the legal and ecclesiastical mind this consideration had no weight. Even Henry Smith, whom contemporaries lauded as the Chrysostom of England, did not escape temporary suspension. The zeal of the Commissioners might certainly have been more profitably expended in providing for the instruction of the thousands of parishes in which there was no competent preacher, instead of weeding out the efficient ones by persecution. The bishops were ready to wink at non-residence and defend pluralities; they ordained men who could hardly recite the

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prayers or read a prescribed homily. They would not suffer learning and zeal to condone insubordination or eccentricity in small matters. "The bishops," complained the Puritans in a petition to Parliament in 1586, "either preach not at all, or very seldom. And whereas the Scriptures say that ministers of the gospel should be such as are able to teach sound doctrine and convince gainsayers, yet the bishops have made priests of the lowest of the people, not only for their occupations and trades whence they have taken them, as shoemakers, barbers, tailors, waterbearers, shepherds, and horsekeepers, but also for their want of good learning and honesty. How true this our complaint is may appear by the survey of some shires and counties herewith annexed, even some of the best, whereof the rest may be estimated. . . . There are a great number within the ministry that live not upon the place where they are beneficed, but abandon their flocks, directly contrary to the charge of Christ. . . . Of this sort are sundry bishops who have benefices *in commendam*, university men, and chaplains at court; others get two or three benefices into their hands to serve them for winter and summer houses,—which pluralities and non-residences are the more grievous because they are tolerated by law. . . . But great numbers of the best qualified for preaching, and of the greatest industry and application to their spiritual functions, are not suffered quietly to discharge their duties, but are followed with innumerable vexations, notwithstanding they are neither heretics nor schismatics, but keep within the pale of the Church, and persuade others to do so who would have otherwise departed from it. They fast and pray for the queen and the Church, though they have been rebuked for it, and diversely punished by officers both civil and ecclesiastical. They are suspended and deprived of their ministry, and the fruits of their livings are sequestered for the payment of such a chaplain as their superiors think fit to employ. This has continued for many months and years notwithstanding the intercession of their people, of their friends, and sometimes of great personages, for their release. Last of all, many of them are committed to prison, whereof some have been chained with irons and continued in hard durance for a long time. To bring about these severities they tender to the suspected

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persons an oath *ex officio* to answer all interrogatories that shall be put to them, though it be to accuse themselves, and when they have gotten a confession they proceed upon it to punish them with all rigour contrary to the laws of God and of this land, and of all nations of Christendom, except it be in Spain by the Inquisition."

The facts stated in the summary annexed to the petition are sufficiently startling. In 590 livings in Lincolnshire there are only 121 preachers, 455 who are only readers, and 154 who hold double benefices or are non-resident. The character of many of those whose names are pilloried is not edifying. At Lan Leverie in Cornwall, for example, the parson "liveth as a pot companion." At Esey the incumbent is "a common dicer burnt in the hand for felony, and full of all iniquity." Nor is it creditable to the spiritual oversight of the persecutors of the Puritans that according to this summary there were 8,000 out of 10,000 parishes without "preaching ministers."

The abuses complained of in this petition were so glaring that the Commons had already, during the sessions of 1576 and 1580, made them the subject of representations to the queen. Elizabeth, more compliant on these occasions than in 1572, laid the blame on the bishops and promised redress. Redress, however, was not forthcoming in spite of Grindal's efforts to remedy them by encouraging the prophesyings, and in 1584-85 the growing cogency of the Puritan demands received emphatic expression in the House of Commons. The majority of the Lower House was Puritan in sympathy, and bitterly resented the arbitrary severity of the High Commission. The Puritan outcry for "a further reformation," and against the coercive methods of the hierarchy, had evidently told on the country. The aggrieved ministers crowded round the entrance to the House plying members with arguments, not merely for toleration, but for a sweeping revolution of Church government on the lines of the "Book of Discipline," written by Mr Travers, and revised by Cartwright. The Commons did not go the length of sanctioning the "Book of Discipline," but they were in favour of limiting the jurisdiction of the bishops by a modified presbyterianism. In spite of official opposition, they discussed various bills dealing with nonconformist grievances and demands, and at length

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agreed to embody them in a petition in sixteen articles to the Lords. It demanded the suspension of incompetent ministers, insisted that candidates for the ministry should be strictly examined as to their gifts and knowledge, proposed that the bishops should not ordain such candidates except with the assistance of six other ministers, that the parishioners should be allowed opportunity of objecting to any nominee to a benefice, that Convocation should be composed of one House under an elected moderator, and that a certain number of laymen should be eligible as members, prohibited the bishops from requiring any oath or subscription from those entering the ministry not expressly prescribed by statute, directed them to cease molesting ministers because of nonconformity in small matters, craved indulgence for those who had been suspended or deprived on this account, and condemned the oath *ex officio*, the abuse of excommunication, and the practice of non-residence and pluralities.

The Commons thus set themselves in direct antagonism to the hierarchy on the burning questions of the hour. They laid stress on the spirit rather than the form, and had no sympathy with the persecuting tactics which sacrificed spirit to form, law to legality. Their concern was not for uniformity, but for an efficient ministry, and to secure an efficient ministry they were ready to go the length of checking the bishop by the presbyter, and to give the people some control in the appointment of their ministers and some share in ecclesiastical legislation. The hierarchy naturally took alarm, and exerted all its influence to secure the rejection of the petition by the Lords. The Lords, therefore, curtly replied that many of the articles were unnecessary, and the others had already been provided for. It at least frightened the archbishop into drawing up some remedial canons against such abuses as excessive excommunications and pluralities, and these measures gave Elizabeth a pretext for reading these Puritan meddlers with her ecclesiastical prerogative a severe lecture, on the prorogation of Parliament shortly after. While threatening to depose negligent bishops, she was determined not to tolerate Puritan "newfangledness." "I must pronounce them dangerous to a kingly rule to have every man, according to his own censure, to make a doom of the validity and privity of

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his prince's government, with a common veil and cover of God's word, whose followers must not be judged but by private men's expositions. God defend you from such a ruler, that so evil will guide you."

The Commons, nevertheless, returned to the charge in subsequent sessions with such insistence that in 1587 Mr Cope and three other members were sent to the Tower for moving or supporting a bill to enact the "Book of Discipline," and in 1593 Mr Morrice was arrested by the sergeant-at-arms, and imprisoned in Tutbury Castle, for moving bills against the oath *ex officio* and illegal imprisonment in consequence of refusal to take it.

Besides petitions to Parliament and Council, the Puritans had made ample use of the printing press for the ventilation of their grievances and the advocacy of their tenets. They were not the men to suffer in silence, and the tyranny of the High Commission only embittered and emboldened their testimony against their persecutors. They were not deterred by stringent press laws from giving vent to the rancour which deprivation and imprisonment provoked. The statute of 1581, which decreed the penalty of death against the writer or printer of any book "containing false, seditious, and slanderous matter, to the defamation of the queen's majesty," was directed against papist plotters. But it was sufficiently general to make it very risky for the extreme sectaries to disown in print the queen's ecclesiastical supremacy, and two years later a couple of Brownist preachers, Coppin and Thacker, were convicted under it and hanged. Puritan pamphleteers nevertheless continued to pillory the archbishop and his Commission in the name of justice and true religion, and in 1586 the Star Chamber, at Whitgift's instigation, attempted to gag these angry critics by an ordinance limiting the right to set up printing presses to London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and prohibiting the printing of any book without the sanction of the archbishop or the Bishop of London. The ordinance only aggravated the evil it was intended to cure. The more bellicose of the Puritan writers set up a secret press at Moulsey in Surrey, and outwitted the archbishop's detectives for several years by moving from place to place. With this secret movable battery they kept up,

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from about 1588, a regular pamphlet bombardment, under the *nom-de-guerre* of Martin Marprelate. They made very liberal use of the weapon of abuse as well as of ridicule, and such slashing philippics as "An Epistle to the Terrible Priests of the Confocation House," "Ha' ye any Work for the Cooper?" and "An Epitome of the First Book of Dr Bridges," teem with bitter and coarse personalities. Dignified prelates like the archbishop and the Bishops of London and Winchester, were upbraided, befooled, cursed, vituperated with an animus of language that smacked of the low pot-house politician. Controversialists like Cartwright and Travers had been dogmatic enough, but they were decent. Martin Marprelate simply reviled at large, and exhausted the resources of the English language in the application of abusive epithets to his right reverend persecutors. They are "a swinish rabble," "most covetous, wretched priests," "proud, popish, presumptuous, profane, paultrie, pestilent, and pernicious prelates," "pettie anti-Christs," "knaves and dunces," "impudent, shameless, and wainscote-faced bishops," "vickers of hell," "monstrous and ungodly wretches." Non-residents are "thieves and foul murtherers before God." Many of the rank and file of the non-Puritan clergy are "swine, dumbe dogs, lewd livers, thieves, murtherers, adulterers, drunkards, cormorants, rascals, ignorant and atheistical dolts." With these ravings Martin mingled some humour, and a great deal of argumentation on the burning ecclesiastical questions of the hour.

Tremendous indignation has been expended on his shrewish style by both contemporary and later writers. It is far from being to our taste, but it is no worse than that of Luther in his angry moods, or of Luther's antagonists. To argue forcibly on theological questions in this century was indeed too often to throw mud of a very unsavoury character —to abuse the person as well as attack the opinions of your antagonist. Martin took full advantage of this liberty of theological polemics, but it should be remembered that a merciless persecution had rasped the feelings of these suffering Puritans, and that indulgence in personal vilification was not all on one side. He might, in fact, have learned the art from some of the judges of the High Commission itself, who sought often enough to intimidate their victims with opprobrious epithets.

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The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London could play the shrew on the bench with the best of them, and Martin did not entirely miss the mark, though abuse in place of argument did not help to settle the controversy. He certainly made himself notorious and his enemies furious, and the authorised presses were kept busy for years printing the retorts of the episcopal champions. "Pappe with a hatchet, or a sound box of the ear for the idiot Martin to hold his peace," "An Almond for a Parrot," "A Counter Cuff given to Martin Junior," drubbed the obnoxious pamphleteer in his own sledge-hammer, scurrilous style, and poured contempt and ridicule on Puritan "cussedness" and hypocrisy. This tournament of abuse was as tremendous an affair as the Armada itself. England, it seems, was so engrossed by this tilting of nameless scribblers, that Philip of Spain seriously calculated how much political capital he could make out of "the new sect of Martinists." Martin's printing press was the subject of a royal proclamation "for the bringing in of all seditious and schismatical books . . . to the ordinary or to one of the Privy Council," and threatening their authors and abettors with the severest penalties as soon as they should be apprehended (13th February 1589). But how to catch this invisible enemy of Church and State was a problem that the united wisdom of the High Commission, Star Chamber, Privy Council, could not solve. Martin was as great an enchanter as Merlin himself. He would spirit himself away from place to place in spite of the hue and cry raised for him all over the country. His pursuers chased his printing press from Moulsey to Fawsley in Northamptonshire, from Fawsley to Norton, from Norton to Coventry, from Coventry to Woolston in Warwickshire, and only after several years' hunt did the Earl of Derby run it to earth at Manchester. It was seized at the house of Sir Richard Knightley, who, along with the printers Waldgrave and Hodgkins, and the distributer Newman, was imprisoned and heavily fined. At the archbishop's intercession, however, the fines were subsequently remitted.

Martin Marprelate still remained a mystery in spite of the efforts to discover his identity. He was probably a secret association, and suspicion fastened on two ministers, Penry

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and Udal. Penry managed to exculpate himself, and was set at liberty. Udal disclaimed responsibility for Martin's libels, but he was convicted of being the author of a pamphlet entitled "A Demonstration of Discipline," and condemned to death, under the statute of 1581, as a felon. In deference, apparently, to the intercession of King James of Scotland, the sentence was not carried out, but the stout Puritan refused to earn his pardon by signing a confession of guilt and repentance, and was confined in the Marshalsea for several months in broken health till death put an end, towards the end of 1592, to his sufferings. His associate Penry, who escaped to Scotland, continued to utter his testimony against the hierarchy, and, on venturing back to London to present a petition for reform to the queen, was seized, condemned as a felon, and executed in May 1593.

Martin's violence did the Puritan cause more harm than good, and the majority of his co-religionists, on his own testimony, resented and censured his abusive style of controversy. "The Puritans are angrie with me," he tells us in his "Second Epistle to the Terrible Priests," "I mean the Puritan preachers. And why? Because I am too open. Because I jest. I jested, because I dealt against a worshipful jester, Dr Bridges, whose writings and sermons tend to no other end than to make men laugh. I did think that Martine should not have been blamed of the Puritans for telling the treuth openly. For may I not say that John of Canterbury is a pettie pope, seeing he is so? You must then bear with my ingramnesse [roughness]. I am plain; I must needs call a spade a spade, a pope a pope."

The result of this intemperate plainness was an anti-Puritan reaction which swept the majority of even the House of Commons to the side of their persecutors. During the session of 1593 the Commons not only refused to entertain two bills in their favour, but passed a truculent Act against obstinate nonconformists. Every person above sixteen who should refuse to attend church, or persuade others to absent themselves, or frequent conventicles, or deny and impugn in print, writing, or speech, the queen's ecclesiastical authority, should be condemned, and, in case of persisting in his obduracy for three months, banished the realm, and summarily executed if

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he should venture to return without leave. The stringent application of this reactionary statute drove the more moderate of the Puritans to conform. It left the more extreme section no alternative but to seek relief from persecution across the North Sea. The new-born Dutch Republic became a land of refuge to these staunch sectaries whom a despotic government drove from the shores of England as rebels and anarchists. Thus began that emigration movement for conscience' sake which was destined to such high and mighty purposes in the colonisation of a new world, and in the vindication of public as well as religious liberty. Imperious Elizabeth and her intolerant, servile hierarchy might imagine that they were safeguarding an autocratic system of government and an autocratic Church from insubordination. In reality they were laying the foundation of one of the mightiest democracies of modern times. Happily, in the mysterious designs of Providence, it is sometimes given to the despised and persecuted outcasts to shape history all unconscious to themselves or their persecutors. Most of these expatriated sectaries, to whom the Dutch Republic in the meantime offered a welcome asylum, were known by the opprobrious name of Brownists or Barrowists. For such, expatriation, though a bitter fate, was at least a back door of escape from imprisonment and the scaffold.

Brown, their founder, had belied his principles by conforming and filling an obscure cure in Northamptonshire, where, according to Fuller, he lived a rather disorderly life, and ultimately died in 1630 in Northampton jail. His place as leader of the sect had been taken by Mr Barrow, a gentleman of Gray's Inn, and by Mr Greenwood, a minister. These men were at length brought to trial, after a long incarceration, in March 1592, and, though they protested their innocence of disloyalty to the queen, were convicted under the statute of 1581 and hanged at Tyburn in the following April. To hang men for sedition, who in all sincerity protested their loyalty and merely wrote and spoke against an ecclesiastical system which they considered unscriptural, might be to the legal mind a just vindication of the royal power. To the non-legal mind it was none the less a barbarous travesty of justice. But death by the hand of the hangman was, after all, preferable to

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the living death of a long incarceration in Newgate or Bridewell, and the substitution of banishment for imprisonment was a merciful relief in the view of the victims of legalised intolerance, as will appear from the following petition presented by Mr Barrow's fellow-sufferers and religionists in the London jails: "We are ready to prove our Church order to be warranted by the word of God, allowable by her majesty's laws, and no ways prejudicial to her sovereign power; and to disprove the public hierarchy, worship, and government by such evidence of Scripture as our adversaries shall not be able to withstand, protesting, if we fail herein, not only willingly to sustain such deserved punishment as shall be inflicted on us, but to become conformable for the future. But the prelates of this land have for a long time dealt most injuriously and outrageously with us by the great power and high authority they have gotten in their hands and usurped, above all the public courts, judges, laws, and charters of this land, persecuting, imprisoning, and detaining at their pleasure our poor bodies, without any trial, release, or bail, and hitherto without any cause either for error or crime indirectly objected. Some of us they have kept in close prison four or five years with miserable usage, as Henry Barrowe and John Greenwood, now in the Fleet; others they have cast into Newgate and laden with as many irons as they could bear; others into dangerous and loathsome jails among the most facinorous and vile persons, where it is lamentable to relate how many of these innocents have perished within these five years. Aged widows, aged men, and young maidens, &c., where so many as the infection hath spared be in woeful distress like to follow their fellows, if speedy release be not had; others of us have been grievously beaten with cudgels in Bridewell and cast into a place called Little Ease, for refusing to come to their chapel services. In which prisons several have ended their lives, but upon none of our companions, thus committed by them and dying in these prisons, is any search or inquest suffered to pass, as by law in like case is provided. Their manner of pursuing and apprehending us is with no less violence and outrage; their pursuivants with their assistants break into our houses at all times of the night, where they break open, ransack, and rifle at their pleasure, under pretence of searching for seditious, unlawful

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books. The husbands in the dead of night they have plucked out of their beds from their wives, and haled them to prison."

"These bloody men" (of the High Commission), protested Barrow in another supplication, "will allow us neither meat, drink, fire, lodging, nor suffer any whose hearts the Lord would stir up for our relief, to have an access to us, by which means seventeen or eighteen have perished in the noisome jails within these six years; some of us had not one penny about us when we were sent to prison, nor anything to procure a maintenance for ourselves and families by our handy labour and trades, by which means not only we ourselves but our families and children are undone and starved. Their unbridled slander, their lawless, privy searches, their violent breaking open houses, their taking away whatever they think meet, and their barbarous usage of women and children, &c., we are forced to omit lest we be tedious. That which we crave for us all is the liberty to die openly or live openly in the land of our nativity; if we deserve death, let us not be closely murdered, yea, starved to death with hunger and cold, and stifled in loathsome dungeons."

In view of these facts banishment might well seem a providential deliverance to the survivors of ecclesiastical tyranny. The prisons were cleared in the meantime, and the bishops were left to enjoy the victory which they had won by the aid of such barbarous methods in tolerable tranquillity during the remaining years of Elizabeth's reign. Some stout nonconformist would occasionally defy the law and follow his expatriated brethren across the North Sea; the controversy between Arminians, Calvinists, Latitudinarians, gave the queen and the archbishop no little anxiety, as the Lambeth Articles and the prohibition of Dr Bound's Puritan treatise on the Sabbath show. But the dispute was as yet but the cloud no bigger than a man's hand on the distant horizon, and the thunderstorm which it heralded did not burst in its fury till the reigns of Elizabeth's successor and his son. The triumph of conformity seemed complete, yet the cause of conformity was far from being won. The Puritans were merely biding their time for a renewal of the attack, and at the death of Elizabeth they emerged once more, as we shall see, as a

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powerful party in both Church and Parliament to oppose arbitrary methods and encounter persecution more stoutly than ever.

The policy of enforcing with severe penalties conformity in small matters was one of very questionable wisdom. It gave rise to controversy and persecution within the Protestant Church at a time when the menace of a popish restoration was by no means the mere ideal of a disloyal faction. It was, to say the least, a mistake in policy to pursue a course fitted to estrange the supporters of the Protestant cause when the very existence of Protestantism was more than once in jeopardy. It was this argument that Bacon urged in vain in his "Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England" (1589). Conformity and intolerance might be in keeping with the spirit of the age, but the impolicy, let alone the injustice, of subjecting men to illegal trials and harsh penalties, for a difference of opinion in matters essentially indifferent, was reprobated by Elizabeth's most sagacious advisers. Cecil and Walsingham, Leicester and Knollys, Mildmay and Smith, strove to mitigate the growing resentment and check the arbitrary methods of the High Commission. Unfortunately, the Puritans did their best to frustrate the good offices of their friends in high places. They not only stickled at the surplice, they carried the controversy into the domain of Church government, and by their hostility to the episcopal constitution of the Church gave their opponents a pretext for harsh and arbitrary measures, and made it difficult for their patrons to protect them. According to the historians, the Puritan demand for a presbyterian system of Church government was an impossible one. An ecclesiastical democracy "could not," according to Mr Gardiner, "flourish on English soil. England has been Papal, Episcopal, Liberal; she has shouted by turns for the authority of Rome, for the Royal Supremacy, and for the Rights of Conscience. One thing she has strictly avoided; she has never been, and it may be affirmed without fear of contradiction that she never will be, Presbyterian." Mr Gardiner in this sweeping judgment has apparently overlooked the petition of the House of Commons in 1584. To judge from this document, the majority of the Commons were prepared at least to engraft

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the presbyterian on the episcopal system. The essential elements of the presbyterian Church polity—the co-operation of the presbyter and even of the laity in Church government, in the ordination and election of ministers, in ecclesiastical legislation—are all found in the petition. As far as the predominant party in the Commons were concerned, England might have been virtually presbyterian in the middle of Elizabeth's reign.

The Puritan demand even for far-reaching ecclesiastical reform was, therefore, no mere will-o'-the-wisp of Calvinist zeal. The Puritan programme was certainly adopted by one branch of the legislature during this memorable session, and the Puritans had many sympathisers and supporters among the Commons throughout the parliamentary sessions of Elizabeth's reign. Still it is not easy to conceive of a presbyterian England, with an Elizabeth on the throne and a well-equipped hierarchy as the subservient instrument of her imperious will. Antagonism between the queen and her Puritan subjects was inevitable. For Elizabeth the Reformation had gone far enough—further, in truth, than was agreeable to her personal likings. For the Puritans it had lagged behind in popish or semi-popish bondage, and must be carried up to the level of the system of Geneva, in government and worship as well as in doctrine. They would have been content to recognise the royal supremacy in a modified form. The English presbyterians, indeed, taught strenuously that the civil power must protect and maintain the rights of the Church as they conceived it. But they claimed a larger measure of spiritual independence than Elizabeth could possibly allow, and their championship of the popular element in Church government was, in her eyes, merely the thin end of the wedge to civil disorder and rebellion. As to the Brownists, who plainly denied the right of the civil power to interfere in things religious, they were pure anarchists, for whom hanging was too good. It was a fixed idea with Elizabeth that Calvinism, which was sufficiently obnoxious on account of its rigidity, its baldness, its obstinacy, was a disloyal religion in any shape or form. It was a mistaken idea, for Calvinism, as we have seen, exalted, nay exaggerated, the civil authority. But Calvinists were not as a rule courtiers, and were not the

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men to humour or flatter a vain woman, and Elizabeth nursed her prejudice against them with all the bitterness natural to one so spoiled by the fulsome flattery of her servitors. Moreover, it would be unfair to overlook the fact that her situation rendered it difficult for her, especially before the Armada had rallied an united nation round her throne, to yield to the demand for "a further reformation." A people, the majority of whom had been weaned from the Roman Church against its will, was not a people to fall straightway in love with a system so radically different from the old cult. Elizabeth could hardly be expected to enter Geneva when a majority of her subjects had only begun to move from Rome.

Even the moderate Puritans, not to speak of the more extreme sects, could not therefore hope to oust the historic hierarchy, though, to judge from the temper of the Commons, they had a large following in the nation. Their dogmatic demands were thus, to a certain extent, in the circumstances, visionary and provocative of persecution, and, considering their own intolerance, it is questionable whether freedom of opinion would have fared any better under their auspices than under those of a Whitgift. Their persecution by the High Commission was none the less a crime and a blunder, for the powers of the Commission, as wielded by Whitgift, were fatal to civil as well as religious liberty. As well abolish all the safeguards of the rights of Englishmen as invest a body of men with the power to ignore their liberties under the guise of an ecclesiastical inquisition. This inquisition, it might be argued, was legally established to maintain the queen's legal prerogative. Formally it might be so, but it was none the less, on that account, arbitrary in the exercise of its powers, and in practice the moderate Puritans do not seem to have seriously questioned the royal prerogative. Even sectaries like Barrow, when challenged by Whitgift, professed the belief that "the queen was supreme governor of the Church, but might not make laws other than Christ had left in His word," and he might have added that it was not permissible to make or enforce laws contrary to the fundamental rights reserved to every Englishman by statute. They protested against the arbitrary exercise of the royal prerogative by the High Com-

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mission against themselves rather than against the prerogative itself, and no fact is more patent in the records of this persecution than the readiness with which the persecuted profess their devotion to their sovereign. Sticklers for order in Church and State, like Whitgift, and even Parker, might smell sedition in every whiff of opposition to official authority. Parker's letters to Cecil and others, for instance, are full of suspicions and accusations of this sort. To Parker the Puritans were prime republicans. Even Martin Marprelate warmly rebuts the charge of fomenting sedition and anarchy as a slander invented by the bishops, and it is evident to every unprejudiced mind that the charge as against Puritan recusants was wholly unfounded. "Because," we read in one of these innumerable petitions from the nonconforming inmates of Newgate, "we would have bishops unlorded according to God's Word, therefore it is said we seek the overthrow of the civil magistrates. Because we say all bishops and ministers are equal, and therefore may not exercise their sovereignty over one another, therefore they say we shall be for levelling the nobility of the land. Because we find fault with the *régime* of the Church as drawn from the pope, therefore they say we design the ruin of the State." Opposition to the hierarchy was not, in the view of these men, opposition to the sovereign; and certainly, having regard to their countless professions of loyalty, their persecutors might have shown a little more readiness to discriminate between theory and practice, without the slightest danger to the constitutional authority of the queen. To exact a hard-and-fast conformity was at least injudicious, considering the small points originally at issue. It only fanned the spirit of resistance into attacking the institutions of the Anglican Church themselves. The law was not so explicit in all points as to justify the extreme demands of Whitgift, though the powers he was entitled to exercise were large enough. But should not the Puritans have seceded from a Church, with some of whose institutions and practices they did not agree? Secession would not have saved them from persecution, would in fact have made them the butt of the law, which made it a crime to be absent from the established worship. They were, moreover, entitled to demand "a further reformation" by the very assumption that had

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sanctioned any reformation at all. It is only in an infallible Church that progress by reform is impossible, and infallibility is a dogma of Rome, not of Canterbury. In a Church that had changed its creed and its rites more than once there was no necessary finality, in spite of Acts of Supremacy and Conformity, unless the Romanist dogma of the infallibility of law and tradition was admitted.

Unhappily, these Puritans, in their dogmatic insistence on their own tenets, could not cast a stone at their opponents on this ground. From this point of view there is little to choose between a Whitgift and a Cartwright. Whitgift stemmed the tide of reform because he had the power; Cartwright would have stemmed it if he had had the power. These stiff-necked Puritans were troublesome to constituted authority, and inclined at times to be captious and superior to their neighbours. They in turn were eager to impart to Christianity an element of legality which savours of Phariseeism. Neither side viewed external forms in small things with indifference. If Whitgift stickled for certain postures, Cartwright was equally tyrannic on questions of individual liberty in practice. It is not because we sympathise with their intellectual or religious standpoint that we sympathise with their resistance to a harsh autocracy. It is because to a certain extent they championed the independence of mind and conscience from the trammels of tradition, and because their championship was destined to bear great fruit in the near future. Their courage in refusing to comply with the fiat of legalised authority in matters of mind and conscience is admirable. They protested in their own unenlightened fashion against the despotic exercise of such authority, and such a protest must count for much in the age of the imperious Elizabeth. It was to achieve much in the age that followed, and therefore it is of exceeding consequence for us to grasp clearly the origin and trend of this early Puritan movement.

While Elizabeth as a ruler was quick to gauge the forces that made the England of her time, she was strangely blind, despite her vaunted sagacity, to those that were already shaping the new age that her death inaugurated. She failed completely to understand the force of religious principle and passion as embodied in these Puritans. With all her masculine

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ability she was extremely superficial in some things. Her assumption that she could, in virtue of a law, reduce the whole nation to the level of her own religious conceptions betrays a lack of insight into human nature. In this matter she saw no further than the limits of a court in which flattery represented her as a goddess, the measure of all perfection, the arbiter of all right. Her excessive self-consciousness and vanity contributed to augment this obtuseness. Such a ruler could not, in England at least, have permanently succeeded in scolding down opposition to her will, based on principle. In some respects the nation, as reflected by Parliament, was beginning to outrun its ruler. The revival of Parliament is, as we shall see, patent towards the close of her reign, and that of her successor was to witness a reaction which she had to some extent prepared.

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CHAPTER XIV.

REFORMATION AND REVOLUTION IN SCOTLAND—JOHN MAJOR, THE MARTYRS, SIR DAVID LINDSAY.

THE sixteenth century witnessed in Scotland not only a reformation in the Church, but a revolution in the State. It dawned on the reign of James IV.; it set on the reign of James VI., the son of the ill-starred Mary and the successor of the fortunate Elizabeth. In this long interval the history of Scotland is one long tragedy, in spite of the promise of the fourth James' forceful reign. Disastrous defeat eclipsed the prestige which James had won for his country during a brief interval of efficacious government—defeat at Flodden, Solway Moss, and Pinkie. Three lengthy minorities—those of James V., Mary, and James VI.—supervened in all too quick succession, and exposed the kingdom to faction strife, civil war, repeated invasion. Religious persecution mingled its shadow with the gloom of faction and anarchy, and watered with the blood of the martyrs the soil from which the seed of the reformation was to spring up. It was in an age of storm and stress, of trial and suffering, that the forces that made modern, Protestant, democratic Scotland were born.

In spite of its disastrous close and the many woes which that disaster brought in its train, the reign of the fourth James afforded a foretaste of what Scotland was capable of accomplishing under an effectual government. His reign may, in truth, justly be termed the introduction to the modern epoch in Scottish history. It witnessed the operation of new forces, new aspirations, which gained strength from the struggle and misery of the next seventy years, and proved their vitality in the gradual transformation of Scotland, after further struggle and suffering in the seventeenth century, into one of the most intellectually and politically progressive of European nations. Politically, intellectually, commercially, Scotland developed a

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new life. She bade fair to become a great maritime power. She made her influence forcibly felt in European politics. She set up her first printing press —that of Chapman and Myllar—in 1507. She multiplied her grammar schools, and provided a third University—that of Aberdeen—in addition to St Andrews and Glasgow. She attracted foreign merchants, and made a brave effort to strike out in a new course of industrial activity. She laid the foundation of the union of her crown with that of England. In James IV. she had a king who was keenly receptive to the new energy of the age, and if he had been wise enough not to risk a battle at Flodden he might have lived to see his kingdom a power of the first rank.

His tragic death was a terrible check to his country's progress. A long eclipse veiled the brightness of the early morning of modern Scotland. Yet this long interval of eclipse was one of the most fruitful of progress in Scottish history. Out of it was slowly evolved the reformation, and the reformation changed the destiny of Scotland. Politically, as well as ecclesiastically, it made a clean breach with the past. In snapping the bond that bound the nation to the mediæval Church, the reformers broke the old Franco-Scottish alliance and forged the link of alliance with England. Still more important, from our point of view, in asserting their principles, despite the antagonism of their sovereign, they did not hesitate to go the length of revolution, and drive that sovereign from both throne and country. They thus went far beyond their neighbours across the Border in the vindication of both religious and political principles. They outdid all the nations of Western Europe, with the exception of little Holland, in their championship of the right of resistance to arbitrary rule on grounds of conscience and political right alike. The movement which culminated in this consummation has for us an absorbing interest. It was the work of many factors, various minds—the work of preacher, thinker, scholar, martyr, publicist, statesman.

The first to play a part—though an indirect one—in its early stage was John Major. Major, or Mair, was born in 1469 near Haddington, "the town," as he tells us himself, "which fostered the beginnings of my own studies." He

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studied for a few months at Cambridge, and from Cambridge he went, apparently in 1493, to Paris; graduated Master of Arts, and taught as regent in the colleges of Navarre and Montaign; became Doctor of Theology in 1505, and spent the next dozen years as Professor of the Sorbonne. His French education is important in view of the ideas on Church and State which he afterwards expounded to his students at Glasgow and St Andrews. It was at Paris that he imbibed the moderate views as to the papal power of the Gallican school of theologians, to which he gave expression in his lectures and published works. It was not till 1518 that he finally returned to Scotland, to fill the post of Principal Regent of the College of Glasgow. In 1523 he was transferred to St Andrews, where, with the exception of an interval of renewed residence at Paris, from 1525 to 1531, he remained as lecturer in logic and theology for the last twenty-five years of his long life.

Major was no original thinker. He was a devotee of the scholastic philosophy, and the scholastic philosophy was played out. But he assimilated some ideas of the great Gallican churchmen of the fifteenth century, and he disseminated these ideas among his students in Scotland. He was not the first Scottish champion of Gallican tenets. The Scottish Church had adhered to the decisions of the reforming Council of Constance, and a Scottish prelate, the Abbot of Dundrennan, had taken an active part on the anti-papal side at the Council of Basel. But the Church of Scotland, like the rest of Western Christendom, eventually waived opposition to the pope, and it was left to Major to revive the old arguments maintained by D'Ailly and Gerson in favour of the limitation of the papal power, the supremacy of council to pope. The impulse he thus gave to progressive opinion in his native land entitles him to be regarded as a force in the making of a great movement. The question of the liberties of the Gallican Church had again become acute during Major's sojourn in France. Louis XII., whom Pope Julius II. had forsaken in the war against Venice, and against whom he had formed the Holy League, took his revenge by summoning a Council to browbeat his enemy. The Council met at Pisa in 1511, and, after being adjourned to Milan and Lyons, proved as impotent as its predecessors to exalt the Church at the pope's expense.

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But it revived the old controversy, and the effect of this revival is seen in Major's denial of the absolute supremacy of the pope over the Church, and of his superiority to temporal rulers. The denial was by no means new. Nor was his denunciation of the abuse of excommunication, which could only be valid if based on adequate grounds, of pluralities and non-residence, of the corruption and degeneracy of prelates, priests, and monks, which disfigured the Church of his native land. These were the commonplaces of every earnest-minded cleric in Christendom in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who left the record of his animadversions on the universal declension of the Church. Nor was Major alone, even among his own countrymen, in his strictures of rampant abuse. Henryson before him, Dunbar, and more especially, as we shall see, Sir David Lyndsay, his contemporaries, lifted up their voices against these and other evils. Major's testimony is, however, especially weighty as that of a famous doctor of theology, an influential teacher of youth, and not merely of a nondescript poet. His class-rooms at Glasgow and St Andrews attracted all the eager young spirits of his age. Men like Knox, Patrick Hamilton, and George Buchanan sat at his feet; and if his scholastic method did not fascinate the more alert among his pupils, his reputation as a doctor of the Sorbonne and a prolific writer made him a sort of scholastic dictator for the time being. "He was," says Knox, "a man whose word was reckoned a sort of oracle in matters of religion."

Major was, however, by no means a militant reformer. He was little, if at all, affected by the humanism of the rising generation which it was his office to teach. He was and remained a mediævalist. As regards theological progress and intellectual freedom he appeared to men like Melancthon a mere fumbler in scholastic pedantry. "I have seen," says he in his "Defence of Martin Luther against the furious Decree of the Parisian Theologasters," *à propos* of the condemnation of Luther by the Sorbonne, "the commentaries on Peter Lombard by John Major, a man, I am told, now the prince of the Paris masters. What waggon loads of trifles! . . . If he is a specimen of the Paris doctors, no wonder they are little favourable to Luther." The doctor of the Sorbonne, who counted the Syndic Noel Beda among his patrons, was

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assuredly not the man to truckle to heresy. He approved of, though owing to his absence in Paris he took no active part in, the sentence which condemned his old pupil Patrick Hamilton to a heretic's death at St Andrews. He denounced the heresy of Luther, and in all essentials of the faith he was a sound Catholic of a reforming disposition. He would fain have reformed the more glaring abuses of the Church from within; he believed in the efficacy of force in stifling reform from without. We have already seen from the history of other lands what reform from within meant as an expedient for staving off reform from without. Before the counter Reformation in the latter half of the sixteenth century, it was a total failure in every country where it was put to the test of practical application.

Major not only wrote commentaries on Aristotle, Peter Lombard, and the Gospels. He studied history as well as the schoolmen, and his "History of Greater Britain" (that is, of England and Scotland)—the most valuable of his works in the eyes of posterity—shows that he had formed very decided opinions on politics as well as religion. Here again, however, he is not original, though he certainly treats British history with considerable independence. His political views, intercalated into his commentary on St Matthew, and his disputation on the sentences of Lombard, are those of the mediæval theorist. Their importance lies, not in their novelty but in their stimulating effects on the minds of some of his students, such as Knox and Buchanan. It seems probable that the great Scottish humanist, who ridiculed Major's scholastic pedantries and subtleties, owed more than he cared to admit to his old master. The constitutionalism of the reformers was, too, substantially that of "the oracle" of St Andrews. His views of the inherent rights and powers of the people, and of the responsibility of kings, certainly have a democratic ring about them. The king, he holds, possesses no absolute power over his subjects. He is supreme over each individual, but he is subordinate to the whole. In a word, the king is not above the kingdom, but the kingdom is above the king (*regnum sit supra eum*). The whole free people is the supreme fountain of power, and its power may not be abrogated (*inabrogabilis*). To the king is granted only a ministerial power. If he usurps

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more than he may lawfully exercise, converts the kingdom into a tyranny, and remains incorrigible, the people, as the supreme power, may depose him. For the king, he insists, has no strength or authority except from the kingdom, the community over which he freely presides. Nay, a tyrant, like any unsound member of the body which threatens the safety of the other, may be cut off, *i.e.*, put to death when the common consent of the body politic has lawfully condemned him. Buchanan, as we shall see, will only elaborate the same idea.

In his "History of Greater Britain," in which he shows himself more independent, he emphasises again and again the constitutional rights of the people against the usurpations of unconstitutional rulers. He condemns the alienation of the superiority of the English kingdom by King John to Innocent III. on the ground that as "he holds his right as king of a free people, he cannot grant that right to any one against the will of the people." Moreover, the king (still King John) has no right to tax the people to pay Peter's pence to the pope, inasmuch as they have not consented to this exaction. Taxation without the express consent of the people is unlawful, and they are not bound to pay. In this he is only repeating the famous stipulation in Magna Charta; but the fact that he brings clearly out the right of the people, as represented by the barons at least, to give or withhold a subsidy, shows his grasp of a great constitutional principle. He held very strong convictions as to the necessity of guarding this crucial bulwark of constitutional liberty. "As to the levying of taxes," he remarks in another part of his History, "in no case should the power be granted to kings, save in cases of clear necessity; and that necessity should further be one which has arisen without fault of the king himself. . . . Further, it belongs not to the king, nor to his Privy Council, to declare the emergence of any sudden necessity, but only to the Three Estates." Major had, indeed, a soul that could thrill at the name of liberty and warm to indignation at the name of tyranny. His narrative of the deeds of William Wallace, the indomitable, upright patriot who fought for his country's rights against such fearful odds, is instinct with sympathy and enthusiasm, and he has nothing but contempt for the factious Scottish nobility

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who left the national hero and the common people to fight for independence. He quotes with evident relish the manly lines which Wallace learned from his teacher, and which admirably express the spirit of the popular leader: "'Tis sooth I say to thee, of all things, freedom is the best. Never, my son, consent to live a slave."

The claim of Robert Bruce, Wallace's successor in the patriotic struggle with England, to the Scottish crown, he regards as indefeasible, because it rested on the consent of the people, whilst that of John Baliol was forfeited by his subservience to the English Edward, and his recognition of a foreign power over a free kingdom. The king, he repeats, can have no authority except by the consent of the people. The kings of Scotland and England, yea, those of Judea, and all kings for that matter, had no other warrant for their crown. The people it is that appoints him, and the people may, for just cause, deprive him. He quotes examples from Roman and Teutonic history to give force to his syllogisms, and concludes a string of arguments with the assertion that both in theory and fact Robert Bruce was rightful King of Scotland. The people as represented by the magnates made him king, and that is enough for Major both as patriot and philosopher. He adds, however, a caveat that the deposition of kings should only be done by lawful authority, viz., by the ripe deliberation of the Estates of the realm, and after the king has shown by his conduct that no amendment is otherwise possible. The advantage of the State, and not of the individual, is the true test of the urgency of such an expedient. "If kings are any way corrigible, they are not to be dismissed for what fault you will, but then and only then when their deposition shall make more for the advantage of the State than their continuance."

Do not, however, let us be misled by Major's popular phraseology. He is no democrat in our modern sense. "The whole people," in its official capacity, means "the chief men of the nobility who act for the common people." When the people in reality appear on the scene, as marshalled by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, the fiction explodes, and we are introduced to "that many-headed monster, an unbridled populace, when it rises against its head." The people of Major's phrase is thus a privileged caste, as in all the mediæval theorists, more or

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less, and it is this privileged caste that in reality constitutes the State, and theoretically is conceived to be the patron and representative of the unprivileged mass. That the mass often enough did not so conceive of these Estates of the realm (as is shown by its vain attempts to shake off its oppressive tutelage) is calmly ignored. He speaks, indeed, of "the grievous oppressions" that drove the masses to desperation in Richard's reign. He is of opinion, nevertheless, that hanging was too good for the rebels, and shows no tendency to find in the facts any explanation, far less a justification, of the aspiration after improvement which rose at last in fierce resistance to social wrong.

The same splenetic tendency to judge harshly the poor man who seeks to right his wrongs is apparent in the description of the Cade rebellion. In spite of his insistence on the "popular" (?) right of rebellion to tyrannic kings, he holds the opinion that the poor man who rebels must necessarily be in the wrong. "As well in fact be governed by brute beasts as by them, and to say truly they are but a beast with many heads." Our philosopher is not philosophic enough to avoid the use of hackneyed phrases which are often but the formularies of social prejudice and wrong. "And this is plain enough," he continues, "from a consideration of that thrice damnable rabble, which, when John the French king was a prisoner, violated many noble women of France, whom afterwards they murdered." He is ready to trust implicitly Froissart's narrative, when it tells against the miserable populace whom twenty years of barbarous warfare maddened into insurrection. He says nothing of that "rabble" led by kings and nobles whose inhumanities to these long-suffering peasants inspired the spirit of revenge, or of the horrible barbarities which soaked the soil of Picardy with peasant blood in expiation of a few local outrages by the infuriated population of a whole province.

The false democracy of the famous professor of scholastic theology and philosophy is only too sadly apparent in such epithets, so strangely out of place in the professed champion of the people's cause. He is even, in his narrative of the deposition of Richard II., unfaithful to the principles of political right which he so strenuously asserts as axioms of

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political science. He mentions the facts of Richard's intolerable oppression of "the common people," yet he severely condemns his deposition as giving a handle to rebellion against kingly rule. Rather inconsistent, to say the least, on the part of the worthy St Andrews professor.

He is a staunch advocate of the union of the crowns of Scotland and England, and thus a supporter of the shrewd policy that had given Margaret Tudor as wife to James IV. Such a union would mean the collapse of the old Franco-Scottish alliance, and it is singular that a man who was almost half a Frenchman should favour the severance of the old bond between the two countries. At this period he was almost alone in his preference for a royal union, and, orthodox churchman though he was, he anticipated in this respect the policy of the militant reform party.

Major's influence as a thinker was confined to the schools. He was not a protagonist of militant reform in Church or State. He belonged to that class of reformer who can be zealous and dogmatic enough in his chair, but never succeeds in impressing his personality on the active world outside it. He would, we fear, never have faced the stake or the dungeon for the sake of reform, and the world accordingly very soon lost trace of him or his opinions, except perhaps through some of his more forcible pupils. Famous doctors had aired their views on philosophy and theology for several hundreds of years, and the world and the Church had gone from bad to worse notwithstanding. Church and world in Scotland, as elsewhere, stood in need of something more potent than mere academic disputations in the dreary style of the schoolmen. If any one would convince himself of the fact, let him try to plod through the worthy doctor's argumentative feats on the sentences of Peter Lombard in the Sorbonnic Latin of the period. Such discussions might sharpen his dialectic ingenuity. They would hardly make him better, or even wiser.

The betterment of the world, and more particularly of Scotland, came from a diametrically different type of mind. It was the martyrs of the Scottish Reformation, not the disputatious occupants of university chairs, who dealt the first effective blows of the army of revolution. And, for the most part, the martyrs in Scotland were not men of flaming reputa-

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tion as scholars and divines. With the exception of Patrick Hamilton, the brilliant, far-travelled humanist, and George Wishart, who, like Hamilton, was a scholar as well as a reformer, they were men of obscure life and limited culture.

The first of them, James Resby, a Lollard preacher who was burned at Perth in 1406 or 1407, had probably long been forgotten, except perhaps among the Lollard sectaries of Ayrshire, who were haled before James IV. by Archbishop Blakadder of Glasgow, in 1494, on a charge of heresy. Twenty-five years after the martyrdom of Resby, another heretic, Paul Craw of Bohemia, who might have imbibed the tenets of Wicklif from John Hus himself, was burned at St Andrews (1433). Nevertheless, as the inquisition of Blakadder proves, there had been a continuity of Lollard dissent from the days of Resby and Craw to those of Hamilton, and fresh proof of the fact has been forthcoming during recent years. One of these Ayrshire Lollards, Murdoch Nisbet of Hardhill, in the parish of Loudon, translated Purvey's version of Wicklif's New Testament into Scots shortly after the accession of James V. The persecution of these sectaries in the reign of James IV. evidently continued into that of his successor. Nisbet, we are told in an old account of his life, was forced to "flee overseas," and it was during his years of exile that, according to the same authority, he made his Scottish version of the New Testament. Murdoch with two of his associates, Pursell (a Franciscan friar) and Kennedy, ventured back to Scotland, in spite of severe edicts against dissenters, and succeeded in evading the inquisitors by living in a vault beneath his house. The alertness in the persecution of heretics was quickened by the discovery that Lutheran books were being smuggled into the land through the east coast ports that maintained a thriving trade with those of North Germany and the Netherlands. Tyndale's New Testament, too, in due time found its way by the same channel from Antwerp to St Andrews. The fact is endorsed by an Act of Parliament, of date 1525, denouncing the penalty of forfeiture of goods and imprisonment against the foreign importers of such works and their abettors within the realm. The prohibition was evidently not very effective, for it was necessary to renew it ten years later. In that interval not

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only had the books of Luther and his disciples multiplied, but Luther's doctrines had enlisted champions who dared to preach them to the people, and maintain them against the doctors of the Church. This daring brought four of them to the stake, and resulted in the expatriation of several others before 1535.

Among these early martyrs Patrick Hamilton stands pre-eminent for his learning, his devotion, his inflexible determination. Through his mother, daughter of the Duke of Albany, son of James II., he was nearly related to the king himself, and he was educated at Paris and Louvain with a view to high preferment in the Church. His scholarship was already remarkable when in 1523 he returned to Scotland and was incorporated as Master in the University of St Andrews. It was coupled with a keen interest in the books which Parliament two years later condemned as "filth," and his zeal in disseminating their teaching roused Archbishop James Beaton to take cognisance of his heresy. To escape this ordeal he went abroad once more, this time to Marburg, the newly founded Protestant University of Hesse. The plague prevented him from continuing his travels to Wittenberg as he intended, in order to confer with Luther and Melancthon; but his converse at Marburg with kindred spirits like Lambert, Tyndale, and Frith, sufficed to confirm his faith and indue him with the martyr spirit. The result was the deliberate determination to return and face his persecutors. Within a few months of his arrival, on the last day of February 1528, he gave proof both of his fortitude and his evangelical fervour in the terrible scene in front of St Salvator's College at St Andrews, where he was roasted for six agonising hours over a fire whose efficiency was thus long baulked by storm and green faggots.

Hamilton was the first of many victims during the next thirty years, in spite of occasional intervals of immunity from persecution, due to political considerations. Archbishop Beaton was thorough enough in his hatred of heresy. He was surpassed by his nephew David, who was probably the promoter of Hamilton's cruel fate, and who a few years later became cardinal as well as his successor as archbishop. He was, moreover, during the last half dozen years of James'

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reign, the all-powerful moulder of the royal policy in Church and State. Like most young Scotsmen who aspired to high dignity in the Church, he had spent a lengthy period in study abroad, and had, in addition, acquired experience as a diplomatist. He had some culture, was strictly orthodox, in spite of the laxity of his morals, a very stickler for the rights of the hierarchy, and the devoted champion of the old Church and the old alliance with France. Ambition, as well as zeal for the faith, as it was, entered largely into the motives of his public activity. As cardinal and archbishop, his supremacy would be indisputable over an unreformed Church, and as the protagonist of the alliance with France, as against the English alliance, which James had for a time seemed disposed to favour, he would play a master *rôle* in the State. He strove, therefore, for reasons alike of self-interest and orthodox churchmanship, to prejudice the king against the new forces, political and religious, that threatened to change the destiny of the country. In both respects he succeeded admirably. Under his auspices James shook off any sympathies with doctrinal reform, and any leaning towards an English alliance he might have entertained. Henry VIII. was ousted in his suit for the Scottish king's friendship by the King of France, the emperor, and the pope. Scotland should bend under the yoke of the old Church and the supremacy of the cardinal, however much the nobility might resent that supremacy and the reformers struggle against it. From the political standpoint the cardinal's policy might appear the more patriotic, and it found eloquent and forcible expression in "The Complaynt of Scotlande." It certainly was not the more enlightened, for the interests of Scotland, as men like John Major and Sir David Lyndsay clearly saw, lay in an honourable alliance with England rather than with France, and it led to the disasters of Solway Moss and Pinkie. Ecclesiastically, it meant the maintenance of the *status quo* against the heretics, and, with the exception of the brief interval of the Regent Arran's aberration in favour of Protestantism in the summer of 1543, the crusade against heresy was inflexibly prosecuted till the abrupt and tragic close of the cardinal's career in 1546.

Nevertheless, from 1535 onwards, heresy had become

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alarmingly prevalent, as additional repressive Acts of Parliament in 1540 and 1543, and frequent burnings, hangings, forfeitures, expatriations, show. Equally conclusive is the testimony of the papal legate, Grimani, who visited Scotland in 1543. "The realm," he writes, "is so full of heresy, that, but for the interposition of God, it will soon become as bad as England." "Heretikis," laments the Act of 1543, "mair and mair rises and spredis within this realme, sawand damnable opinions in contrar the fayth and lawis of halykirk, actes, and institutions of this realme." Towns like Dundee, Perth, Stirling, Ayr, were discovered to be nests of heretics. The execution by burning or hanging of batches of these staunch confessors at Edinburgh in 1539, at Perth in 1544, failed to stem the flowing tide of rebellion against the cardinal's coercive policy. Images were broken, even monasteries sacked, sermons openly preached to large crowds, in spite of stake and gallows. Among the boldest of the preachers was George Wishart, who held forth from the pulpit and from the top of the Cowgate Port to the people of Dundee, within a few miles of the cardinal's metropolitan city of St Andrews. Wishart, like Hamilton, was a man of high culture, and, like him, had been driven into exile for his faith. He is found sojourning for a season at Zürich, Basel, Strassburg, and, as in the case of Hamilton, the tendency of his interviews with the divines of these cities was to beget a yearning to return and testify once more in his native land. From Dundee, which he chose as the centre of his labours, he made preaching tours in Angus, the Mearns, Ayrshire, and the Lothians, exhorting the people, in the impassioned style of the evangelist, to repent and be converted. It was at Ormiston, in East Lothian, that he was arrested by the Earl of Bothwell, sheriff of the county, and from Ormiston he was carried to St Andrews, to dispute with a conference of bishops and doctors, and to suffer the fate and emulate the constancy of the protomartyr of the Scottish Reformation, whom in character and attainments he closely resembled. Beaton, it is averred by some of his champions, had reason to see in Wishart a traitor as well as a heretic. A certain George Wishart appears as an emissary of the men who were favourable to the English alliance, were intriguing to forward Henry VIII.'s unionist

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policy, and had sworn to arrest or assassinate the cardinal. It appears, however, that there was another George Wishart, a citizen of Dundee, who would fit into the character of political conspirator far better than the martyr, and I think that the assumption that would identify the devoted evangelical preacher with the person in question is unlikely. His character, as drawn by his affectionate Cambridge pupil, Emery Tylney, is certainly not that of a man who would be likely to participate in, or even approve of, a plot to murder the chief of a great political party, though it must not be forgotten that he had cause to believe that Beaton had hired assassins to destroy himself, and seems to have had relations with the Anglophile party in Scotland opposed to the cardinal. "About the year 1543 there was in the University of Cambridge one Mr George Wishart, commonly called Mr George of Benet's College, a man of tall stature; judged by his physiognomy to be of a melancholy disposition, black haired, long bearded, comely of person, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lovely, lowly, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and well travelled. . . . He was a man, modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness, for his charity had never end, night, morn, nor day; . . . He loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him; but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them, and went his way. Oh that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished what he had begun! For in his religion he was as you see here in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with some of the nobility that came for a treaty to King Henry VIII. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire, always pressed and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors. If I should declare his love to me and all men, his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all, *and hurt to none*, I should sooner want words than just cause to commend him. All this I testify with my whole heart and truth of this godly man."

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The cardinal, we are told, witnessed the burning of the obnoxious heretic in front of the archiepiscopal castle. He little recked that two months later the day of reckoning for his share in that savage scene would come to him. The men who burst into the castle and struck him mercilessly down had their own grievances against Beaton as well as Wishart's death to avenge. The ruthless deed shows clearly that those who, from political as well as religious motives, favoured Church reform would not be content to be slaughtered for their cause without essaying the arbitration of other weapons than those of faith and suffering. In thirteen years' time Scotland was ranged into two armed camps, determined to decide the far-reaching religious and political issue by the sword. In such an age of upheaval, force rather than law speaks the decisive word. It was so, more or less, in every land where the opponents of reform appealed to the stake and the scaffold to justify their creed. Could the votaries of that creed, who used force in its support, cry out if men at last, as in Holland, France, and Scotland, met force with force and resolved to win or perish in the attempt to vindicate, sword in hand, policy or creed against their enemy?

The small band of Protestants and politicians, who had given such forcible expression to their opinions, held out for fourteen months in St Andrews Castle against the Regent Arran, who was fain to summon a French fleet to his aid. With their surrender in July 1547, and their transportation as slaves to the French galleys, the cause of the Reformation and the English alliance alike received a serious check. Somerset's victory at Pinkie appeared indeed a knock-down blow to the policy of the murdered cardinal. But Somerset had only gained a victory; he had not won Scotland; and the patriotism of the Scottish people, aided by French reinforcements, ultimately swept the invaders back across the Border. For the next dozen years the influence of France was supreme, and Scotland even submitted in 1554 to the supersession of Arran by the queen mother, Mary of Lorraine, or Guise, as regent, while the young queen, as the fiancée of the Dauphin, was being educated in France. The French alliance and the old Church seemed secure in the goodwill of the people.

Never was prospect more illusory. Heresy had not been

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stamped out by the death of Wishart and the exile of his active supporters. Acts of Privy Council, Provincial Synods, and Parliament alike bear renewed testimony to the spread of the religious contagion. In spite of this outcry, however, there was a lull in the persecution, and from 1546 to 1559 only two heretics seem to have been burned. Political expediency as well as their increasing numbers contributed to shield the sectaries from the clamour raised against them in Parliament and synod. Archbishop Hamilton, Beaton's successor and half-brother of Arran, was no friend of heretics, but he was an interested partisan of the aggrandisement of the house of Hamilton, and could not afford to alienate from the regent the goodwill of the men favourable to reform. Mary of Lorraine found it equally necessary to make herself popular in her efforts, firstly, to obtain Arran's place, and secondly, to cement the alliance with France. She accordingly put a bridle on her bigotry both as candidate for and possessor of the regency. Moreover, the reform party received a considerable accession of strength in the fugitives who sought in Scotland a refuge from the Marian persecution, and who boldly preached to increasing multitudes, in spite of the citations of the ecclesiastical authorities. When thus challenged, they came with such a guard of resolute partisans that the bishops were fain to waive proceedings against them. It was the old Church rather than the new that was on its trial throughout these years of enforced truce. The spasmodic efforts in Parliament and synod to reform some of the more glaring abuses, against which the reformers inveighed, show that the ecclesiastical authorities felt that it was high time to attempt something more efficacious in the way of reform than merely burning heretics. One of these tardy attempts, which produced Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, throws a strange light on the crass ignorance of the priesthood. It would be easy to prove from the official deliverances of both Parliament and ecclesiastical council the widespread existence of other grave evils—of rampant profligacy, idleness, greed, simony. The Church, in fact, at this critical period stood self-condemned in the eye of the nation. The notorious corruption was no exaggeration or invention of men like Knox, who saw in the Church only the abomination of Antichrist, and denied it, root and branch, any

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right to be regarded as the Church of Christ. His modern biographer, Dr M'Crie, may be going too far in his assertion that "the corruption of the Christian religion, before the Reformation, had grown to a greater height in Scotland than in any other nation within the pale of the Western Church." Knox's biographer had surely not read attentively the contemporary testimonies as to the declension of clerical morals in other western lands. From what we already know of these testimonies, it would be difficult to outmatch them from contemporary Scottish records. Still we have ample reason for saying that the state of matters was as bad in Scotland as anywhere in western Christendom. In 1540, for example, Parliament is found complaining of "the unhonestie and misrule of kirkmen, baith in witt, knowledge, and maneris," which had brought the priesthood into universal contempt. In 1549 an ecclesiastical council sitting at Edinburgh is still more explicit in its avowal (in Latin) of "the corrupt manners and profane lewdness of ecclesiastics of almost all ranks, together with their crass ignorance of letters and all culture." Ten years later a number of lords favourable to the old Church united in a petition to the regent for clerical reform on the ground of "the open sclander that is givin to the haill estates throucht the said spirituale mens ungodly and dissolute lyves."

I have already adverted to the severe censures of John Major, who certainly was no favourer of heresy. I might adduce the testimony of a later churchman who steadfastly clung to the old faith while denouncing the vices of the old clergy. "Give [if] any of you," sorrowfully admits Ninian Winzet, "wyl object that the priestis, bischopis, and the clergie in our dais his been blekkit [blackened] with the saidis deformities and [are] sa ignorant, or vitious, or baith, and alswa [so] sclanderous that they are unworthy the name of pastores, alace! we ar rycht sorie that this is trew for the maist part and mair." Another orthodox witness, Quintine Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel, referring to the abuse of benefices held *in commendam* by feudal lords, is still more bluntly explicit: "And quhen they have gotten the benefice, gyf [if] they have ane brother, or ane sone, suppose he can nolder [neither] sing nor say, norischeit in vice al his dayis, fra hand he sal be mountit on ane mule, with ane syde [silken]

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gown and ane round bonnett, and then it is questioun whether he or his mule knawis best to do his office."

Such testimonies, coming from churchmen who were not and never became Protestants, are incontrovertible. The corruption of the Church was, in sober verity, both deep and widespread. And yet the corrupt priesthood absorbed half the wealth of Scotland, vegetated on the oppression of the poor. In addition to enormous possessions in land, they taxed the long-suffering and the superstition of their parishioners for their own profit. They made use of the weapon of the censures of the Church for their material advantage. They were experts in "cursing," as this part of ecclesiastical discipline was called. They received tithes or teinds and many other ecclesiastical dues, and when the poor man was unable or unwilling to render these dues he was liable to excommunication and civil prosecution. The priest gave him a "cursing," and the cursing, which had become a source of mirth as an ecclesiastical performance, was no jesting matter when it came to the question of parting with the only cow or the best coat of the poor man.

This hatred of an over-rich, worldly clergy, deep enough in the hearts of the common people, rankled in those of the higher classes in a still more acute degree. In contrast to the higher clergy, many of the nobility were poor. They envied the bishops their wealth, they cast longing eyes on the broad lands of the Church. The example of England was not lost on Scotland, and the irritation and antagonism of the Scottish nobility was a theme which the reformers could work up to advantage. When Knox, in 1547, asserted, during a disputation at St Andrews with Wynram, that "the teindis by Goddis law do not apperteane by necessitie to the kirkmen," he was sure of the approval of a large number of discontented and covetous nobles and lairds. Moreover, the Scottish prelates and abbots were not only wealthy; they wielded great political power, and under James V. their political power had been enhanced to the detriment of the nobles. Beaton, for the time being virtual dictator of Scotland, had striven to increase his influence and that of his order by a scheme of confiscation directed against a number of the nobles, and these nobles would not have been Scotsmen

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if they had quietly submitted to be effaced and robbed at the dictation of an ambitious, grasping priest, or neglected to take the first opportunity to make the Kirk pay for the ambitious priest's aggressive policy. The alienation of an influential class was indeed to cost the Kirk dear in the near future.

The character of the Scottish nobility drawn by a contemporary, the author of "The Complaynt of Scotland" (1549), is, however, by no means flattering. The scribe was evidently an orthodox cleric, and, while he probes with gentle touch the shortcomings of his own order, he is merciless enough in exposing those of lords and lairds. His denunciations may, however, be paralleled by those of Sir David Lyndsay, whose satire, as we shall see, spared neither lord nor prelate. A large section of the Scottish nobility, then, was ready to betray their country for English gold. They were as self-seeking and false as they were factious and turbulent. They were jealous and distrustful of one another, and for "their particular profit" let the Commonweal perish. They were greedy and hard in their dealings with their poor tenants, whom they harried out of home and holding for their own selfish gain. We may thus paraphrase the long complaint which Commonalty, Dame Scotia's third son, makes to his dolorous mother against his elder brother, Nobility. Commonalty is, he laments, kicked and prodded like a dull ass. He labours day and night to nourish lazy and useless men who reward him by reducing him to beggary. They reive from him his corn and his cattle. As in England, they rack-rent him and turn him out of his steading. The labouring man is a notable member of the realm, on whom both nobles and clergy depend for their existence, and yet he is treated as a slave, and has only the Eternal God to whom he may appeal for justice. Nevertheless, in this oppressed outcast the sense of human right has survived, and he angrily reminds both Nobility and Spirituality that originally he was the eldest of the three brothers. Adam and his successors were all tillers of the soil, and little enough reason have these modern upstart nobles to despise labouring men as rustic slaves, and plume themselves on their descent from angels and archangels instead of Father Adam. Let them remember that many of the most illustrious heroes of history have

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been of humble lineage. What arrogance, then, to boast of mere "blood"! "I trow that if any surgeon would draw part of their blood in a basin, it would have no better colour than the blood of a plebeian or a mechanic craftsman." Commonalty continues in this downright democratic strain further than space will allow us to follow him. His complaints and arguments are very probably not the mere inventions of the author. He was representing what the common man felt, and even at times said, under his breath perhaps. Such sentiments are as old as oppression itself, and oppression is prehistoric. On the eve of this Reformation period it would be folly indeed to take the poor man in Scotland, or anywhere else, for a dull blockhead who did not reflect on the iniquitous inequality that made his lot little more passable than that of a beast of burden. Rustic wight as he was, he felt that he deserved more consideration in the Commonwealth than he got, and only the mountain load of convention and law kept him from rising, not only against the English invader, whom he professes his eagerness to fight equally with the most bellicose patriot of his age, but against the oppressor nearer home. That our author is not merely transferring his own ideas to his rustic critic of his betters is clear from the fact that he proceeds to answer him in the stock arguments against the democracy with which oppression throughout the ages has defended itself at the poor man's expense. You common people, retorts Dame Scotia, voicing the supercilious class spirit of the day, are not worthy of or fit for liberty. You shout, and follow any loud-voiced prater like a flock of sheep. You are as inconstant as a calm sea in winter. A council of ten prudent men is wiser than that of the whole pack of you. Your judgment has neither consideration nor reason in it. You are as blind men following the blind, and therefore the law forbids you to combine to redress your grievances. Nay, you are worse than brute beasts, for you are given to excess, and subjection alone can curb your brutal instincts. Dame Scotia, however, in the person of our author, is not one-sided, and proceeds to lecture the nobility in very plain-spoken fashion on their degeneracy, and to remind them of the simplicity and virtue of the pristine age of the world. "In the gude ancient dais there was na differance of staitis

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among men." No ceremony, no laws of precedence. And then we have the conventional picture of the degeneration of the race, the necessity of choosing a prudent man to rule the rest, the rise of nobility which was merely the recognition of supreme virtue and valour, and was not hereditary—concluding with the startling assertion that none of the nobility of Scotland in the middle of the sixteenth century, tried by the standard of personal merit, deserves a place in the category of honour. Even the son of a prince that is destitute of virtue is no true gentleman, and the longest lineage takes its rise from "a mass of clay and earth." From all which it appears that, despite oppression and servitude, democratic theory and aspiration as well as religious reaction were very much alive in Scotland in this fermenting, reformation century.

We must perhaps lighten somewhat the sombre hues of this picture. The misery begotten of invasion and defeat doubtless lent itself to an atrabilious view of things. The fact that Scotland rallied from the stunning blow dealt at Pinkie to drive the invader across the Border, would argue that there was more valour and virtue left in the land than "The Complaynt" would lead us to infer. The scribe certainly errs on the side of pessimism. But even so, contemporary records bear witness that there was only too much truth in the national degeneration that he depicts, and it is difficult to believe that these Scottish nobles and lairds will develop into self-denying reformers and patriots in the coming revolution. Some of them, indeed, were to play a fairly conscientious part in that movement. Too many were to play the opportunist in Scotland as elsewhere.

Though the Commonalty in "The Complaynt" counts the Spirituality among his oppressors, we should hardly conclude from the generalities of our author that the masses were ready to revolt against the Church. He indeed tells the clergy that heresy laws and burnings are not remedies against heretics as long as they do not reform their own lives, and warns them of the consequences. But we must go to the satires of his contemporary, Sir David Lyndsay, if we would realise the unspeakable degeneration of the Church that made revolution inevitable. Lyndsay's mordant diatribes in the vernacular were already working like a leaven of revolt among the people.

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They probably did more to ripen Scotland for revolution than all the preachers and martyrs put together.

His span of life was co-extensive with the reform movement to which he contributed so powerful an impulse. He was born in 1490; he died in 1555. His birthplace was either the Mount, near Cupar-Fife, or Garmylton, near Haddington, the ancestral estates to which he fell heir. The predilection of the historians has fixed on the former, and, in that case, he would receive his education at Cupar Grammar School. It was completed at St Andrews University. The treasurer's accounts tell us that he took part in plays at the court of James IV., and up to 1524 he acted as master usher or tutor to James V., who four years later appointed him Lyon King-of-Arms. In this capacity he was more than once sent on embassies abroad—to the court of Charles V. at Brussels in 1531 to negotiate the renewal of the commercial treaty with the Netherlands, to Paris in 1536 to negotiate a matrimonial alliance between his master and a French princess. He wrote the greater number of his pieces, notably the "Satire of the Three Estates" (1540), during the active reign of James V., though the most elaborate of them all, "The Monarchie, or Dialogue betwix Experience and ane Courteour" (1553), belongs to the period of the regency of Arran.

He was undoubtedly one of the most forcible of Scottish men in this age. He does not confine his satire to the Church. He lashes the abuses rampant in the State and in society as well, though his sharpest hits are reserved for the kirkmen. The lightning flash of his satire ripened the country for revolution, both ecclesiastical and political. Kings, nobles, lairds, merchants, even the people itself, as well as bishops, abbots, priests, and monks, came in for their share of castigation. His shafts pierce political and social as well as ecclesiastical abuses, and he may, without exaggeration, be described as the genius of universal, aggressive reform in his age. What is singular in a man who was a court official as well as a knight and a landed proprietor, he was quick to note the grievances of the poor man, to place the interests of the people at large above that of any class or individual. There is in him a strong strain of Burns. Like Burns, his moral versatility was extraordinary. In almost one and the same breath he can speak the language

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of the brothel and utter the sentiments of the stern moralist. He passes from the *rôle* of Sensuality and Wantonness to that of Good Counsel, Chastity, and Verity, with the abruptness of the magician. The foulest jests, the crassest expressions alternate with the judgments of God on the wicked, the most elevated maxims of virtue and justice. In both respects he is Burns' compeer. In raciness of style and stern humour he might, in addition, take a place beside John Knox. The interlude of the tailor and the soutar, for instance, might almost stand for the model of Tam o' Shanter. Nor would it be a stretch of imagination to call him, like the bard of Ayr, knight though he be, the poet of democracy. At all events he is the out-and-out champion of John the Commonweal. He writes indeed for all classes, but his deepest sympathies are with the people, and his homely rhymes are directed to and meant to be understood and appreciated by the people as well as by the powers that be in Church and State. The popular note breaks through again and again, and his poetry evidently comes in this respect straight from his heart. In his "Exhortation to the Kyngis Grace," for instance, one of his earliest pieces, he reminds James V. that it is for the people that he wears a crown :—

> "And of thy peple have compassioun,
> Sen thow be God art so preordinate ;
> Do equale justice boith to grete and small,
> And be exampyll to thy peple all."

Again, in the "Testament and Complaynt of the Papingo" (1530) he exhorts him to choose his councillors, without respect to blood, riches, or favour. Let him be guided by the fittest to rule for the general good. What the country wants, he warns in the "Dreme," another of his earliest pieces (1528), and a withering exposure of the misgovernment of Angus, the evil genius of the land from 1524 to 1528, is "justice, polycie, and peace." For this lack, the king and his councillors are in the first place responsible. "Quharein lies our unprosperitie?" asks the poet of Dame Remembrance.

> "Quod scho, I fynd the falt in to the heid,
> For thay in quhome dois ly our hale relief,
> I fynd thame rute and grund of all our grief :
> For quhen the heidis are nocht delygent
> The membris man in neid be neglegent."

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The testimony of Dame Remembrance is amply confirmed by John the Commonweal:—

> "For thare is few to me that takis tent,
> That gars me go so raggit, reivin, and rent."

John is a homeless wanderer, and wherever he goes, whether in the Lowlands or the Highlands, "polycie" or government is at a discount. Everywhere murder, robbery, poverty, strife. John lays his complaint before the spiritual estate, but these dumb dogs of prelates will not listen, and look at him in disdain. Simony, covetousness, pride, sensuality, have no ear for the common ills of the land. The gentlemen, too, are all degenerate, and, thwarted, insulted, despised on all hands, John Commonweal vanishes from the land. When, queries the poet, will ye come again?

> "Quod he, thare sall na Scot have comfortyng
> Of me, till that I see the country gydit
> Be wysedome of an gude auld prudent kyng,
> Quhilk sall delyte him maist above all thyng
> To put justice tyll executioun,
> And on strang traitouris mak punitioun."

But while eager to welcome the advent of "a gude auld king," he is the sworn foe of any *régime* founded on force, of tyrants and egoists in high places. The only legitimate government he will recognise is that which exists for the good of the people. His king is by no means an absolute potentate, whose will is law. In the "Satire" it is the Estates, especially the temporal lords and the commons, that take in hand the work of reform, that make laws to remedy misgovernment and oppression. He is no lover of monarchy for its own sake, to judge from the description, given in the "Dialogue," of the four principal monarchies of history—those of Assyria, Persia, Greece, and Rome. The best he can say of them is that they were instruments of the wrath of God, who worked His punitive will through them, and then sent them (the pope among the rest) to perdition. He hates the wars of kings as the devices of ambitious potentates to serve their own glory and ruin the nations, and in this respect we discern the note of the modern reaction from the mediæval spirit that deified war under the pseudonym of chivalry.

The religious views of Lyndsay are clearly those of a man

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who, while remaining within the old Church, is disgusted with the company he keeps, and is ready to leave it. He can discover no likeness between the pope and Christ. Nay, the Bishop of Rome is for him, as for Knox, the Antichrist of prophecy, and with all other tyrants, whether cardinal, king, or emperor, gets his reward with compound interest at the day of judgment from the angry poet. He denounces the worship of images as idolatry, whether in ancient temple or modern Christian church. Pilgrimages breed superstition, hypocrisy, and fornication, and are the devices of crafty priests for their own purposes. The emphasis invariably laid on the efficacy of "the blood of Christ," in contrast to "the vain superstitions" of the age, reminds of the evangelical preacher. The monasteries are hotbeds of vice, and it is impossible to reproduce the epithets he applies to the conduct of their inmates. He is bitterly opposed, in the "Complaynt to the King" (1529), to the rule of prelates in the State:—

> "So blynd it is thair corporall ene [eyes]
> With warldly lustis sensuall,
> Takyng in Realmes the governall
> Baith gyding Court and Sessioun
> Contrar to thair professioun,
> Quhareof I thynk they sulde have schame
> Of spirituall preistes to tak the name."

He would banish Latin from the services of the Church as well as from the laws of the land. Moses, David, the Apostles, the Fathers, used their own language, and why should we be forced to pray in a dead, unintelligible tongue? Church history after the first three centuries is for him a travesty of Christianity. The picture of the next thousand years etched in "The Testament and Complaynt of the Papingo" (1530) is dark enough. It shows us Property corrupting the clergy, Riches and Sensuality banishing Chastity and Poverty from Rome and every Christian land. All this and much more to the discredit of the clergy the dying Papingo relates to the pie, the gled, and the raven—greedy, crafty churchmen, who come to confess her and make her will. Her death is the opportunity of these voracious, clerical birds. No sooner has she drawn her last gasp than they fall to and devour her, while still warm, leaving nothing but the feathers,

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in spite of her testamentary injunctions. The scandal of this consummation is only relieved by the humour with which it is depicted.

The clamant need of reformation is the constant refrain of such exposures. In the "Tragedie of the Cardinall" he makes even Beaton reappear to make a clean breast of his sins, and appeal to princes and prelates for reformation on pain of being burned with him in hell.

It is in the "Pleasant Satyre of the Three Estaites" (1540) that Lyndsay reaches high-water mark both as dramatic poet and as reformer of Church and State. This masterpiece is a drama of real life. It ushers on the stage all sorts and conditions of men under the conventional guise of the virtues and the vices, and is truly representative of the nation. It does not appear to have been printed during its author's lifetime, but it was acted on various occasions—at Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Cupar. It must be confessed that the author surpassed himself in the use of coarse language and episodes, but the obscenities which disfigure it were evidently to the taste of the age, and certainly did not weaken its practical effects. It carried conviction straight to the heart of the multitude. So pungent and gross is it that it is difficult to believe that it was played (as was actually the case) before the king and queen at Linlithgow in 1540. The poet strips, as it were, all classes of society to the skin, and remorselessly shows them their own deformities. King Humanitas is only a thin disguise for James himself, and the devotion of his majesty to Dame Sensuality, whom Wantonness leads to his chamber, is a terribly straight hit at the king's illicit amours. His most mordant thrusts are, however, reserved for the clergy, high and low. Flattery, Falsity, Deceit, for instance, who follow Sensuality and Wantonness on the stage in quest of preferment at court, appear as clerics newly arrived from France, and give themselves out as Devotion, Sapience, and Discretion. They hound Good Counsel out of the precincts of the court; they accuse Verity, who enters anon to warn kings and prelates of their duty to the people, of heresy, and send her to the stocks. The same fate overtakes Chastity, who vainly seeks a lodging with the prelates and the nuns :—

> "They wald nocht let me bide [stay] sa lang
> To say my pater noster."

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The clergy are not only immoral, they are the oppressors of the poor man. They harry him out of home and gear in payment of his church dues, and curse him into the bargain. "How did the parson?" asks Diligence. "Was he not thy gude friend?" "The devil stick him," returns poor man, "he curst me for my teind [tithe]." With his last groat poor man will go to a man of law, who will help him to get justice of the priest:—

> "Thou art the daftest fuill that e'er I saw,"

laughs Diligence,

> "Trous thou, man, by the law to get remeid
> Of men of Kirk? No, nocht till thou be deid."

Thereafter Robert Rome-raker, the pardoner, comes on the scene, produces his authority from the pope, damns the New Testament which is ruining his trade, lays out his relics for sale, including "a great horse bane," picked up from Dame Flescher's midden (dung heap), which he warrants to cure all the ills of soul and body. With his last groat, the poor man, yielding to his wiles, buys a pardon for a thousand years. The pardoner gives him nothing but pious assurances for his money, and poor man in a rage reclaims his groat, knocks him down, and kicks his relics into the water.

Part Second introduces us to an assembly of the Three Estates, with King Correction and Good Counsel as assessors. To King Correction John the Commonweal makes his complaint, and calls for a sweeping reform of the abuses in Church and State. The clergy stick to their teinds and their dues, and raise a chorus of dissent. The other two Estates pay no heed to their outcry. Nor shall any more money go to Rome for buying of benefices, whereby the land is drained of its gold and silver. Priests shall hold no more than one benefice; bishops and priests shall, moreover, learn to preach, if Act of Parliament can do it. Preach! cries the Spirituality. "Friend, quhair find ye that we should preachers be?" Good Counsel quotes St Paul's Epistles to Timothy. The bishops would to God that Paul had ne'er been born. "Sir," asks Good Counsel, "read ye never the New Testament?" "No, sir," returns Spirituality, "I never read the New Testament, nor the Auld." What have you your teinds for, then? asks the Third Estate.

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Whereupon an abbess starts up with the cry of heresy. It is, nevertheless, enacted by the Temporality that no man be appointed bishop or priest unless he can preach. To show them how to preach, a reverend doctor, whom Diligence has discovered in some obscure corner of the land, ascends the pulpit and delivers an evangelical discourse. "Come doun, dastart," roars the parson, "and gang sell draif."

In conclusion, Spirituality is arrested by order of the king, deprived and banished, the evangelical doctor and other exemplary clerics put in his place, and the Acts reforming the abuses rampant in both Church and State solemnly proclaimed by Diligence. John the Commonweal, gorgeously apparelled, at last obtains a seat in Parliament. The work of reformation is concluded by the hanging of Deceit and Falsity, whose clerical disguise is torn from their backs, and who teach merchants how to cheat. The scene closes with a sermon by Folly, who claims kin with everybody more or less, and discourses from the text, "The number of fools is infinite." Especially biting is the satire directed against fools in high places. Folly has a hat to fit every prince in Christendom :—

> "For I have heir, I to the' tell,
> Ane nobill cap imperiall,
> Quhilk is nocht ordanit but for doings
> Of Emperours, of duiks, and kings.
> For princely and imperiall fuillis,
> They sould have luggis [ears] as lang as muillis.
> The pryde of princes withoutin faill
> Gars all the warld run top our taill.
> To win thame warldlie gloir and gude,
> They care nocht schedding of saikles [innocent] blude."

It would hardly be fair to those against whom the shafts of Lyndsay's satire were directed to accept a drama as history. Allowance must be made for the personality of the poet and the aim of his poem. That aim was to amuse as well as instruct, and the coarse burlesque in which he indulges demanded a certain license with fact. Even so, we may, I think, safely assume that the poet in the main did not exaggerate when he represented the Church as rotten to the core, and fairly took its dignitaries as the butt of his ridicule. From official records as well as the dicta of contemporaries, it is certain that reform by drastic methods was as clamant as it

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could be. After the "Satire of the Three Estates" it was no longer feasible to choke reform with the smoke of the martyrs, and, even if the moral sense of the age was very blunt, there were other motives — some noble, some questionable — for beginning and completing the work of Luther in Scotland.

It is astounding that Lyndsay, who fiercely attacked all classes, from the king downwards, escaped hanging. It is inexplicable why the Church did not burn him, except on the assumption that all he said of prelate, priest, and monk was substantially true, and that the knight of the Mount was too conspicuous and influential a person to be haled before an ecclesiastical tribunal. The scandal of such a proceeding was apparently too risky even for Cardinal Beaton. The Church might lay its hands on smaller prey. It really dared not beard Sir David Lyndsay. Buchanan, at this period an obscure scholar, was less fortunate. He wrote some satirical poems against the monks at the instigation of James V., and he had to flee the country to escape the consequences of Beaton's resentment. The brothers Wedderburn, the authors of "The Gude and Godlie Ballates," were also forced to flee for the hardihood of their spiritual songs. Another of these rhyming antagonists of the clergy, Friar Killore, was less fortunate. He was one of a batch of heretics condemned by Beaton and burned in 1539.

SOURCES.—John Major, In Mattheum Expositio (1518), Disputationes on the Three Books of the Sentences of Peter Lombard (1550), and A History of Greater Britain, translated and edited by Archibald Constable, with a Life by A. J. G. Mackay, Scottish History Society (1892); The New Testament in Scots, being Purvey's Revision of Wickliffe's Version, by Murdoch Nisbet, c. 1520, edited by T. G. Law, Scottish History Society (1901); The Complaynt of Scotlande (1549) edited for the Early English Text Society by J. A. H. Murray (1872); Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii.; Concilia Scotiæ, Bannatyne Club (1866); The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay, edited by David Laing (1879), and Scottish Text Edition; Knox, History of the Reformation in Scotland, edited by David Laing, vol. i. (Works of John Knox) (1846); Lindesay of Pitscottie, The History and Cronicles of

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CHAPTER XV.

Reformation and Revolution in Scotland—John Knox and the Lords of the Congregation.

In 1555, the year of Lyndsay's death, the country had been thoroughly prepared for the upheaval that was to come within five years with such startling swiftness. And the man who was to play the chief *rôle* in that convulsion was ready for his task. For the next twenty-five years John Knox was the greatest figure on the stage of Scottish history. He was even in some respects one of the master spirits of his age. He was born for his mission as the aggressive leader of a movement which others had prepared. He appeared on the scene at the supreme moment when the forces of progress, which for years had been gathering strength for the final struggle, met their enemy in death grips. His early career may be read in that most dramatic of narratives with which he has enriched the literature of his country—the "History of the Reformation in Scotland." It is only necessary here to review briefly the facts of his early life which made him, in character and action, the man he was.

Knox, who according to tradition was born at Haddington in 1505, was a pupil of John Major at Glasgow University, and was evidently versed in scholastic philosophy and theology. For twenty years thereafter he appears to have filled the offices of priest, tutor, and apostolical notary of the diocese of St Andrews. He first emerges into history as the associate and disciple of George Wishart, and after his martyrdom, as preacher of the faith, which Wishart sealed with his death, to the fierce men who had avenged it and held the castle of St Andrews in defiance of the regent. In these striking surroundings he began his struggle with Antichrist, as he called the pope, and during the truce in the spring of 1547 he startled the good folks of St Andrews by a heretic sermon, delivered

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in the parish church before the university and the clergy. He wrangled fearlessly in a theological disputation with Winram, to prove that the pope was Antichrist and the mass "an abominable idolatry." From the pulpit of the parish church to the slave galley was a strange transformation, yet for nineteen months after the fall of the castle this was the fate of the fearless preacher in common with most of his rebellious associates. Even the horrible life of a galley slave did not break the iron spirit of the man, and his faith in himself and his mission never forsook him. On one occasion the galley in which he was chained to the oar was off the Scottish coast between Dundee and St Andrews. Pointing to the steeple of the church in which he had thundered defiance to Antichrist, one of his companions, James Balfour, asked him whether he recognised it. "Yes," said Knox, "I know it weall; for I see the stepill of that place where God first in publict opened my mouth to his glorie, and I am fullie persuaded, how weak that ever I now appear, that I shall not departe this lyf till that my toung shall glorifie his godlie name in the same place."

He was released about the beginning of 1549, and spent the next five years in England as one of the most active leaders of the premature reform movement in the reign of Edward VI. He was made a royal chaplain, and was even offered the bishopric of Rochester, but he preferred the humbler post of licensed preacher, first at Berwick, and afterwards at Newcastle. He took an influential part, however, in the theological discussions of the time, and the Calvinist character of the Second Prayer Book is ascribed to him. At Newcastle and Berwick, as at St Andrews, he was the fervent and outspoken witness for the new creed, and even lifted up his testimony against the shortcomings of politicians like Northumberland. The accession of Mary sent him once more across the Channel to tarry for the day of the Lord, whilst ministering to congregations of English refugees at Frankfort and Geneva.

By this time he was close on fifty years of age, and had in the main assimilated most of the dogmas, religious and political, which he was to champion with inflexible persistence as leader of the Scottish Reformation. His stay at Geneva, in close association with Calvin, extending, with some considerable interruptions, over the next five years, put the finishing touch to

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his training for the master *rôle* which he was about to play on the stage of Scottish history. He had probably become acquainted, ten years before his arrival at Geneva, with the creed of the Swiss theologians through George Wishart, who translated the First Helvetic Confession of Faith. As appears from a work of his friend, Balnaves, which he endorsed as a digest of his own views, he was also, whilst a galley slave, versed in the doctrines of Luther. Before he set foot in Geneva his creed had become distinctly Calvinist, or (though the term is of later origin) Puritan. He would not, as royal chaplain and preacher in England, kneel at communion, nor would he, as minister of the congregation of English refugees at Frankfort, use the Prayer Book; and he chose to retire from his position and migrate to Geneva rather than give way to the liturgical party on this question. He was a staunch believer in Calvin's cardinal doctrine of predestination, and strove to confute Calvin's antagonist Castellio in a diffuse treatise on this thorny subject. For him, as for Calvin, the Church of Rome was, root and branch, antichristian, and the religion of the papists rank idolatry. Compromise with Rome was as alien to his mind as compromise with Geneva was to the mind of Ignatius Loyola. With him it was war to the knife with every vestige of Roman practice, even in Churches which, like that of England, professed the reformed creed. In this respect he was more intolerant even than Calvin, though, like him, he was not, at this period at least, uncompromisingly hostile to the episcopal order. He refused an English bishopric, not because the office was to him unscriptural, but because it was for him inexpedient in the circumstances. That he was a very stickler for "discipline" of the sternest Puritan caste is evident from the whole trend of his life and character. To him Puritan Geneva, after the final discomfiture of the Libertines in 1555, was paradise on earth—"the maist perfyt schoole of Christ that ever was in the erth since the dayis of the Apostles."

His political opinions seem to have grown with experience. In 1548, when he was a galley slave at Rouen, he received from his countryman and associate in St Andrews Castle, Henry Balnaves, a treatise on justification by faith. Balnaves had been a Lord of Session, and, in the brief Protestant interval of Arran's regency, Secretary of State, but on the re-ascendency

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of Beaton, had been deprived of his office, and imprisoned as a Protestant and a supporter of the English alliance. After his release he had taken refuge in the castle of St Andrews, and it was whilst lying in durance in Rouen palace, in expiation of his association with the St Andrews rebels, that he wrote his treatise and sent it to Knox. To Knox its teaching appealed so forcibly that he sent it with a commendatory epistle and a digest of contents to his old hearers at St Andrews. The views of the relations of ruler and subject, to which Balnaves gave expression in this work, may therefore be regarded as substantially those of Knox at this period, viz., in 1548. In reverence for the supreme power they resemble very closely those of Luther, of whom Balnaves would seem to have been an enthusiastic follower. In 1548, then, Knox was ready to subscribe to the following translation of Luther's view of the duty of obedience to the civil power: "Your duetie is, to honour al men, love brotherly fellowship, feare God, and honour the king; be obedient to him, not onely for feare and dreadour of his ire, but also for hurting of your conscience, because it is the will of God, in all things not repugning to his command. Give to thy prince and superior his duetie; or whatever he chargeth you with concerning temporall riches; inquire not the cause, for that perteineth not to thy vocation. Hee is thy head, whom thou shouldst obey; transgress not his lawes; be not a revenger of thy owne cause, for that is as much as to usurpe his office: so thou walkest not aright in thy vocation. Looke not to his faultes or vices, or to thy owne. Disobey him not; howbeit he bee evil and doe the wrong (which becommeth him not of his office), grudge not thereat, but pray for him, and commit thy cause to God. Be not a perturber of the commonweale, but live with thy neighbour at rest and quietnesse, every one supporting others as members of one body."

Ten years later, *i.e.*, in 1558, Knox had a different political gospel to send to "the nobilitie, estates, and commonaltie of the realme." In this message he emphasises the duty of resistance to kings who dishonour God and oppress His people. It is the duty of the Estates of the realm to take a firm stand against an ungodly, oppressive ruler, and in this manifesto there is more affinity to Calvin than to Luther.

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Nay, there is a clear indication of the necessity of rebellion and revolution in the cause of God. "Now if your king be a man ignorant of God, ennemie to the true religion, blinded by superstition, and a persecutor of Christes membres; shall yee be excused, if with silence yee passe over his iniquitie? Be not deceaved, my lordes, ye are placed in auctoritie for an other purpose than to flatter your king in his folie and blind rage; to witt, that as with your bodies, strength, riches, and wisdome, ye are bound to assist and defend him in all things, which by your advice he shall take in hand, for God's glorie, and for the preservation of his commonwealth and subjects; so by your gravities, counsel, and admonition, yee are bound to correct and represse whatsoever ye know him to attempt expressedly repugning Goddes Word, honour, and glorie, or what ye shall espie him to do, be it by ignorance, or be it by malice, against his subjectes, great or small. Of which last part of your obedience, yf ye defraud your king, ye commit against him no lesse treason, then yf ye did extract from him your due and promised support, what time by his enemies unjustly he wer pursued. But this part of their duetie, I fear, do a small nomber of the nobilitie of this age rightly consider; neither yet will they understand, that for that purpose hath God promoted them. For now the commune song of all men is, We must obey our kinges, be they good or be they bad; for God hath so commanded. . . . True it is that God hath commaunded kinges to be obeyed, but like true it is, that in things which they commit against his glorie, or when cruelly without cause they rage against theire brethren, he hath commaunded no obedience, but rather he hath approved, yea, and greatly rewarded such as have opponed themselves to theyre ungodly commaundements and blind rage."

Knox's trumpet-call to resistance was largely motived by his Protestant zeal. Not only is resistance to persecution lawful, it is incumbent to withstand the king in the interest of true religion, and there is no room for dispute as to what is true religion and what is not. It is indisputably the religion of John Knox. This is a narrow view, but it must be remembered that in an age when two parties are engaged in mortal conflict there is little scope for the play of philosophy. He

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was only retaliating on his opponents their own doctrine. Apart from this narrow dogmatism, the bearing of such impassioned appeals in breaking down subservience to traditional authority, and in paving the way to the political self-assertion of the people, is patent enough.

The militant tone of the exhortation to the Estates of Scotland in 1558 is also the tone of "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," which appeared in print at Geneva in the same year. The "Blast" was probably written at Dieppe, whither he had journeyed in 1557 from Geneva in the vain hope of proceeding to Scotland. He was apparently not equal to facing the ordeal of such a visit in the meantime, and was not quite satisfied with himself for discreetly evading its difficulties. The "Blast" was thus penned in one of his most acrid moods, and was published anonymously, and without the knowledge or consent of Calvin, at Geneva in the following year. It is merely a pamphlet for the times, and has no value whatever as a discourse on the science of government. It is rather a protest against the bloody *régime* of Mary of England, and had Lady Jane Grey, instead of Mary, occupied the throne, the iniquity of female rule would probably not have occurred to Knox, and he certainly would not have blown this fierce blast against it. From beginning to end it shows that he was smarting under the provocation of the butcheries perpetrated across the Channel against his old co-religionists, and in his righteous indignation he swore at large, not only against Queen Mary but against female rulers in general. The tone of his argumentation against the queen in particular is both fierce and impolitic. He calls her, for instance, "a traitoresse and bastard," and "that cursed Jezebel." Such harsh epithets could only aggravate the oppression of those on whose behalf he worked himself into a passion. But his whole thesis as to the rights of women and their place in society is one-sided as well as unchivalrous. His view of woman is that of the Jewish prophets and the Church Fathers, who make her simply the slave of man. Needless to say, it is ungenerous, ungracious, and unenlightened. In this respect Knox is certainly not the apostle of modern progress, but the prophet of Oriental darkness. He states the gist of the book in the first paragraph:

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"To promote a woman to beare rule, superioritie, dominion, or empire above any Realme, Nation, or Citie is repugnant to Nature; contumelie to God; a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance; and finallie, it is the subversion of good Order, of all equitie and justice." He admits some exceptions from the rule, but he takes care to narrow the concession to feminine self-esteem to the smallest possible minimum: "I except such as God, by singular priviledge, and for certain causes, known onlie to himselfe, hath exempted from the common ranke of women, and do speak of women as nature and experience do this day declare them. Nature, I say, doth paynt them furthe to be weak, fraile, impacient, feble, and foolishe; and experience hath declared them to be unconstant, variable, cruel, and lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment." No wonder that, in spite of this exception, Elizabeth, whose favour he subsequently attempted to propitiate, turned him the cold shoulder, and harboured a mortal dislike to the traducer of her sex for the rest of her life.

It would be waste of space at this time of day to follow him through his argumentation from the classic writers, the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, the Roman law, and the Fathers, in support of this proposition. What is of some historical importance to note is the boldness of tone in which he inveighs against tyrants in general, and the obnoxious occupants of thrones in his own day in particular. His grievance against them is of course mainly theological, and he sees in every opponent of the Reformation an enemy of God and an agent of the devil. He confronts them with the Old Testament prophets, and angrily bids them beware of doom: "The same prophetes, for comfort of the afflicted and chosen servants of God, who did lie hyd amongest the reprobate of that age (as commonlie doth the corne among the chaffe), did prophecie, and before speake the changes of kingdomes, the punishmentes of tyrannes, and the vengeance which God wold execute upon the oppressors of his people. . . . By whose examples and by the plaine precept which is given to Ezechiel commanding him that he shall say to the wicked: Thou shall die the death; we in this our miserable age are bounde to admonishe the world and the tyrannes thereof of their sodaine

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destruction, to assure them and cry unto them whether they list to hear or not." If, in Knox's opinion, a ruler acts against God's commandments and the commonweal, he or she shall be told so in the bluntest fashion. No conventional feeling of reverence will stay the shaft ready to dart from his tongue or his pen, as Mary of Scotland, as well as Mary of England, experienced on more than one occasion. The "Blast" is a direct challenge to throw off the authority of a ruler who is not only a woman but a bloody tyrant. "The nobility and estates of the realm" ought, he roundly asserts, without further delay to depose her.

In spite of the resentment of Calvin, who sharply rebuked the injudicious zeal which helped to estrange Elizabeth from the Genevan as well as the Scottish reformer, Knox intended to follow up the "First Blast" with two others. The death of Mary and the anger of Elizabeth stayed his pen, but he gave to the world an outline of his further cogitations in the form of four propositions. In these the influence of his old teacher, John Major, is unmistakable. Not birth, not mere blood, he asserts, make a lawful king. Kings rule by the election, the consent, of the people. No manifest idolater or transgressor of God's law ought to exercise the government. No oath of allegiance can bind a people to obey and maintain a tyrant, and if the people have hastily entrusted the government to any one unworthy of it they may most justly depose and punish him. He resembles Major, too, in the depreciatory tone in which, though less offensively, he refers to the people. The people at large is to him usually "the ignorant multitude," "the rascal multitude." He evidently had not risen to the conception of the political rights of the mass, for the people, in a political sense, means merely the Estates, and the Estates were far from being equivalent to the people of Scotland. He would probably, in fact, have been forward to denounce any attempt by the mass to revolt against class privilege and power in its own interests, and apart from the theological revolution of which he was the protagonist. In preaching resistance he is the ecclesiastical rather than the political or social reformer, though there was as clamant need, according to Lyndsay and the author of "The Complaynt," for political and social as for religious reform. John Knox, we repeat, was

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no democrat, no apostle of modern democracy, though his phraseology sometimes sounds democratic enough, and though he undoubtedly gave an impulse to democratic progress. Nor would it be fair to expect this in a Protestant apostle, if he had not taken it upon him to lay down the law in things political as well as things religious. In the "First Book of Discipline" he indeed adjudges "the pepill" a voice in ecclesiastical affairs, and warmly champions the cause of the deserving poor, whom he distinguishes from "stubborne and idill beggars," and of popular education. He would have stood higher in our estimation if, as political writer, he had shown a larger sense of popular rights, and harped less on those of a malcontent nobility and middle class. The mass of the unprivileged might be the rascal multitude, but without the co-operation of this multitude he and his friends, the malcontent nobles, might have planned and prayed to domesday for the destruction of idolatry. Had the people arrayed itself behind the champions of the old creed, there would have been no reformation in Scotland or elsewhere—no reformation worth speaking of at least—however much a Knox might angle for the co-operation of a discontented and, in the case of too many of its members, a self-seeking aristocracy.

The conventional depreciation of the masses, into which John Knox sometimes slips, may be explained from the low social and intellectual level of the people in the Middle Ages. After centuries of serfdom and oppression, to which the masses were doomed, and the neglect of the Church to raise them to a higher social plane, the people might well appear politically a negligible quantity in Scotland as elsewhere; its lot, for all time, that of hewers of wood and drawers of water to the classes above it. We need hardly be surprised, therefore, if its political existence was ignored by the apostles of the mighty revolution that was moulding the Western world and presaging future change. But was it only the people that was depraved? Were the ruling classes really much more enlightened? Were they really more fit for political rights? If the publicists of the age speak truly, it would be difficult indeed to answer in the affirmative. It might be easy to prove from a one-sided view of history that the instinct or the judgment of the multitude was perverse, brutal, and false.

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Equally easy might it be to adduce historical examples to prove the brutality, the falsity, the perversity of kings, nobles, middle class. To draw from such examples the conclusion that kings, nobles, middle class, are necessarily prone to perversity and the other vices charged against them, would, however, be a rash proceeding. Even so in the case of the masses, in spite of the conventional depreciation of the centuries. Even the mob may sometimes do good work, and the people, in the sense of the aggregate of honest men and women, whatever their stations or occupations, has again and again made history which deserves to be written in letters of gold. Historians and philosophers have been terribly unjust, in this respect, to the nameless millions who have contributed their share to the progress of the world.

During Knox's exile at Geneva events in Scotland had been steadily tending towards a climax. Mary of Lorraine was evidently losing her grip on the nation. The Franco-Scottish alliance was not popular, and the Reformation movement was assuming an ever more formidable aspect. The preference for French counsellors roused the jealousy of the Scottish nobility, and from an Act of Parliament, of date June 1555, it is evident that the people largely shared in their restiveness. The Act complains that "divers seditious personnis has in tyme bypast rasit amangis the comoun pepill murmuris and sclanders, speaking againis the Queenis grace, and sawing evill brute [rumour] anent the maist Christin King of Frances subjectis sent in this Realme." Another of the same date inveighs against the growing contempt of the ordinances of the Church, especially of fasting in Lent. In the following year Parliament refused to entertain the regent's proposal to establish a standing army "for the better defence of the country," and, in deference to a spirited protest of three hundred of the nobility, she was fain to abandon the policy of introducing into Scotland the military institutions of France. The Scottish king, they insisted, was called King of Scots, not King of Scotland, as if he was master of the lives and property of his subjects, and, as for the defence of the country against the English, they would answer for that with their good swords as their forefathers had done before them. She had no better success in the attempt to draw Scotland into

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the French war with England and Spain in response to the summons of Henry II. The lords would not hear of a declaration of war against England, and, though they allowed her to assemble a large army at Kelso as a precautionary measure, they would on no account cross the Border and begin hostilities. She was therefore forced to disband the army and confine operations to petty Border skirmishes.

In these circumstances, it was highly advisable to hasten the marriage of the young queen with the Dauphin, arranged by the Treaty of Haddington ten years before, and thus perchance rouse Scotland out of its sullen and suspicious mood, and secure its more active espousal of French interests. In response to the French king's request, the Scottish Parliament consented to send commissioners to represent Scotland at the ceremony. It charged them to obtain as a preliminary the ratification of the Treaty of Haddington, which guaranteed the ancient laws, liberties, and privileges of Scotland, and the recognition of the next heir by right of blood (Arran) in case of the queen's death without issue. These stipulations were ostensibly agreed to in a series of documents signed by Mary, the Dauphin, and Henry II. A few days before her marriage the young queen solemnly obliged herself to preserve "the laws, liberties, and privileges of the kingdom of Scotland to all and every one of her subjects." Some days after the ceremony she repeated the engagement in conjunction with her husband, the Dauphin, as King of Scotland. As if to leave no back door out of these solemn agreements, Henry II. himself and his son gave their written promise to maintain the rights of Scotland, as stipulated, and the succession of the next heir to the Scottish throne in the event of the queen's death without issue. It is hardly credible that, in spite of these solemn public protestations, the young queen had beforehand agreed to certain private stipulations, which rendered the foregoing, in certain eventualities, utterly worthless. In the first place, in the event of her death without issue, she freely gifted her Scottish kingdom to the King of France. In the second place, she pledged that kingdom to her father-in-law as a guarantee of the repayment of the sums he had incurred on its behalf. In the third place, she protested that, all agreements to the contrary notwithstanding, these grants should have full

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validity and effect. The documents bearing her signature attest the astonishing duplicity of this transaction, and they certainly show that political morality was not among the many accomplishments of the *protégée* of Diana of Poitiers and the Guises. They prove, too, that the Franco-Scottish alliance on such terms was assuredly not preferable to the reformers' policy of an alliance with England, and, though the reform leaders could not have known of these masterpieces of deceit, there can be no question which policy was more to the advantage or detriment of Scotland as an independent State.

The Scottish Parliament ratified the public agreements, and even consented to send the crown of Scotland ("the crown matrimonial," as it was termed) to France, as a gauge to her husband of the zeal and affection of her Scottish lieges. Sent, however, it never was, and the sudden death at Dieppe of four of the returning commissioners, who had, as a body, refused to assent to this demand, suggested foul play, and did not tend to add to the popularity of the marriage itself in Scotland.

Popular it certainly was not with the growing section of the nation that was hopelessly alienated from the old Church and the French alliance, the pillar on which it rested. Equally unpopular was it in the eyes of those who, on patriotic grounds alone, were apprehensive lest Scotland, despite Acts of Parliament and solemnly ratified treaties, should ere long sink into a mere province of France. Nay, it was within the range of probability that England itself might be forced into a regal union which would make France supreme in Western Europe and the Guises the dictators of its destiny. The year that witnessed the marriage of Mary Stuart witnessed the death of Mary Tudor. In the eyes of Henry II. Mary Stuart was her rightful successor, and, in defiance of the English Parliament and people, he publicly proclaimed her Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland. So seriously did he take the claim, that Mary and her husband assumed the crown of England, and the Dauphin adhibited his name to the Treaty of Cateau Cambresis as "Francis, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, England, Ireland, and Dauphin of France."

Note attentively these two facts which the close of the year 1558 had brought into prominence—the fact of a grow-

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ing estrangement from France in Scotland, and the fact of a formidable claimant to the English throne, who, besides being Queen of Scotland, is about to become Queen of France. Note, too, the bearing of these facts on the attitude of England and Scotland at this critical juncture. Both are menaced by a common danger on the side of France, and both are about to be drawn by this common menace into an alliance fraught with all the pregnant consequences of destiny. The historic moment had at last come for the unionist policy of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. There was, on both sides, on political grounds, the requisite motive of a common policy. There was, too, in the Protestant party in both countries, on religious grounds, an additional motive for common action. The working of this twofold motive largely explains the startling suddenness with which the Reformation in Scotland came at last. The Church might have on its side the Government and the French alliance, but at the supreme moment the Government and the French alliance were out of unison with the spirit of the nation, and the Church itself had, besides, forfeited the goodwill of the people. Add the fact that its wealth, so unworthily used, had stirred the cupidity of interested magnates, and Nemesis could not fail to be swift and sure.

The organisation of the reform party dates from a visit paid by Knox to Scotland in the autumn of 1555. The visit lasted till the following July, and during these months he was unceasingly engaged in preaching and in conferring with the friends of reform. His sermons were nothing if not revolutionary, though for the present he contented himself with preaching in the houses of his noble patrons at Edinburgh, in the Mearns, Lothian, and Ayrshire. At a conference at the Edinburgh lodging of John Erskine, the accomplished laird of Dun, he condemned the conduct of those who still attended mass, "for avoiding of sclander," as idolatrous, and persuaded his friends to take a firmer stand against the old Church. Among those so persuaded were, besides Erskine, Lord Lorn, soon to become Earl of Argyll, Lord James Stewart, Prior of St Andrews and natural son of James V., and the Earls of Glencairn and Morton. His own circumspection in not venturing to attack publicly the old creed did not save him

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from a summons to appear before the bishops at Edinburgh; but, in view of the rally of his adherents, they thought better of it, and did not give him the benefit of a formal onslaught in public court. Letters from his congregation at Geneva urging his immediate return put a period to his mission for the present. The bishops again summoned him before them *in absentiâ*, and had his effigy burned at the cross of Edinburgh. His mission produced important results, however. The preachers waxed more aggressive, the people more restive. The image of St Giles was seized and thrown into the North Loch of Edinburgh. Still more ominous, the leading Protestant nobles and gentlemen entered into a bond or covenant, in December 1557, "to renounce the congregation of Satan, and establish the congregation of Christ," and summoned Knox to return. "The Lords of the Congregation," as the subscribers of this bond were called, shortly after presented a petition to the regent, claiming the right to read and expound the Scriptures in the common tongue, the celebration of the Lord's Supper in both kinds, and a thorough reformation of the Church in accordance with the New Testament and the writings of the Fathers. The regent was compelled by political considerations to promise toleration pending the meeting of Parliament. She was only biding her time, however, and the burning of Walter Mill in the following April (1558) shows that the bishops were determined to forestall compromise. In the same month the young queen was married to the Dauphin. The Franco-Scottish alliance seemed assured, and with it should be assured the supremacy of the old Church from all further attack. The regent accordingly summoned the preachers to Edinburgh. They obeyed the citation (July 1558), but they came with such a following that she was forced to abandon extreme measures against them in the meantime.

The language of their adherents was that of men who would no longer quietly suffer her to use her authority to their detriment. "Madame," said their spokesman, James Chalmers of Gaitgyrth, "we know that this is the malice and devise of thei Jefwellis [jail-birds], and of that Bastard (meanyng the Bischope of Sanctandrois), that standis by yow. We avow to God we shall maik ane day of it. Thei oppresse

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us and our tennantis for feading of thare idill bellyes: thei truble our preacheris, and wold murther thame and us. Shall we suffer this any longare? Na, Madame, it shall nott be. And tharewith everie man putt on his steill bonet." This bold speech intimidated the regent into a sham disavowal of hostility. "Me meanes no evill to you, nor to your preachearis," she protested. "The bischoppes shall do you no wrong. Ye ar all very loving subjectis." "My lords," she added, turning to the bishops, "I forbid you eyther to truble thame or thare preachearis." The Lords of the Congregation followed up this apparent victory by a second Petition and Protestation, demanding reform in more pressing terms, and laying the blame for the civil disorders that must ensue from a refusal on the regent and the prelates. "We protest that yf any tumult or uproare shall aryise amonges the membres of this realme for the diversitie of religioun, and yf it shall chance that abuses be violentlie reformed, that the crime thaireof be not impute to us, who most humlie do now seak all thinges to be reformed by ane ordour: But rather whatsoever inconvenent shall happin to follow for lack of ordour tacken, that may be imputed to those that do refuise the same. And last, we protest, that these our requeastis, proceading from conscience, do tend to none other end, but to the Reformatioun of abuses in Religioun onlie: most humilie beseiking the sacred Authoritie to tak us, faithful and obedient subjectis, in protectioun against our adversaries, and to schaw unto us suche indifferencie in our most just Petitionis, as it becumeth God's Lievetenentis to do to those that in his name do call for defense against cruell oppressouris and bloode-thrustie tyrantis."

Under this continued pressure Mary summoned an ecclesiastical council in the spring of 1559 to reform the more flagrant abuses of which the petitioners complained, but its resolutions, laudable enough as far as they went, made no concessions in the matter of doctrine and ceremonial, and failed utterly to stem the revolutionary tide. Had the revolutionary movement been confined to a few malcontent nobles and preachers, these makeshift improvements might have staved off the crash. But behind the nobles and the preachers stood a large section of the people, and the people

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had their own wrongs and grievances to vindicate, and were at this moment closing up their ranks for the destruction of institutions synonymous in their eyes with intolerable oppression. These wrongs and grievances found terrible voice in the "Beggars' Summonds." This summons to a pampered Church to deliver up its ill-gotten and worse-applied gear for the benefit of the poor man is nothing less than a revolutionary manifesto, straight from the popular heart—one of those passionate outbursts resonant throughout the ages in which misery appeals to God and man for justice. It was addressed from the blind, crooked, bedridden, widows, orphans, and all other poor so visited by God that they cannot work, to the flocks of friars within the realm, from whom they seek restitution of wrongs by-past and reformation in time to come. It claimed the endowments, which these monks have squandered in self-indulgence, and have misused to support superstition and idolatry, as the property of the nation. They have forfeited it by the law of God, the law of nature, the law of the land, and therefore, if they do not disgorge it by Whitsunday next, the people will take possession and eject them as usurpers and robbers of its heritage. "Let him, therefore, that before has stolen steal no more, but rather let him work with his hands that he may be helpful to the poor. —From the whole cities, towns, and villages of Scotland, the 1st day of January 1558."

The attack on the monasteries in Scotland is usually represented as the work of "the rascal multitude," and even Knox himself says so. The rascal mob was at any rate in grim earnest, if this effusion may be taken as an indication of its spirit. And the rascal mob, it is evident, had ample cause for action, and showed more method in its madness than its modern critics have seen. Art might suffer, but morality and justice certainly gained from the rude vindication of the warning here given. It is only as we realise the stern spirit which thus welled up against the sham religion of the day in Scotland in this year 1558-9 that we can understand the scenes of tumult and vandalism that were to follow. It was certainly not a "rascal" spirit that penned this document, or turned adrift a legion of lazy, sensual monks out of their corrupt heritage.

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Social grievances thus commingled with religious zeal and political motives in producing a reaction which the regent was plainly impotent to control. In the presence of this welling up of popular anger, all her shifts, whether of force or negotiation, were doomed to failure. She tried the language of intimidation in vain. "In despite of you and your ministeris baith," protested she angrily to the Lords of the Congregation, "they shal be banished owt of Scotland, albeit they preached as trewlie as ever did Sanct Paule." The delegates of the lords reminded her of her former professions of toleration. "It became not subjectis," was the snappish retort, "to burden thare princes with promises farther than it pleaseth them to keape the same." In pursuance of this threat, she summoned the preachers once more, this time to Stirling (May 1559). Again they indicated their willingness to appear, but, as before, their adherents assembled in such numbers at Perth for the purpose of accompanying them that she waived the citation and then proclaimed them outlaws for their non-appearance. The news of this trick was carried by Erskine of Dun to Perth, where John Knox had arrived on his final return from Geneva, and was inveighing might and main, in spite of outlawry, against "idolatry." Under the inspiration of his eloquence, "the Beggars" were not slow to put their threat to execution, with the result that the images of the Church of St John were smashed, and the monasteries of the Black and Grey Friars and the Charterhouse Abbey sacked and burned (11th May 1559). With this practical application of the Beggars' Summons the trial of strength between the two parties began in earnest. In twelve months the French alliance and the old Church had disappeared. Short as was the interval, it was brimful of dramatic vicissitude—of check and countercheck by the party of the Congregation and the party of the regent.

To the regent the action of the Perth populace was rebellion as well as sacrilege. Its leaders disclaimed the charge of sedition, but they protested in a letter, written apparently by Knox, that, unless liberty of conscience and worship were granted, they would not hesitate to defend themselves and their cause by force of arms. "Except this crueltie be stayed by your wisdome, we wil be compelled to tak the sweard of

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just defence aganis all that shall persew us for the mater of religioun, and for our conscience saik, which aught not, nor may nott be subject to mortale creatures, farder than by God's worde man be able to prove that he hath power to command us." To the nobility they emphasised their determination in a separate epistle in even stronger terms. Authority, says the scribe, evidently likewise Knox himself, is God's ordinance, and should be obeyed, but authority is not identical with the person who happens to exercise it, and its tyrannic exercise may certainly be resisted. They will not be intimidated by numbers, but even if it is a case of a thousand against ten thousand, "thei sall nocht murther the least of our brethren, but we (God assisting us) shall first committ our lyves in the handes of God for their defence." At the same time they are loth to grasp the sword, and are willing to refer the questions in dispute to the arbitration of a public disputation, which they have hitherto solicited in vain.

Divested of the theological rhetoric with which Knox overlaid it, this assertion of the principle of resistance to a tyrannic *régime* in Church and State does credit to its champions. It is easy for historians sitting in their arm-chairs to cavil and denounce. Had these same historians been threatened with the stake and the dungeon for their adhesion to their conscientious principles, and this by a ruler who represented the system of French absolutism in a country which could boast of a parliamentary constitution, and by a few domineering prelates whose lives were a disgrace to common morality, not to speak of Christianity, they would most probably have found cogent reasons for playing a different tune. We must judge of the situation as it appeared to the men engaged in a life-and-death struggle with despotism, not as it appears to these modern critics and detractors. So regarded, it is difficult to see how these men could have answered in the deferential style that might have pleased these critics, but would most certainly have undone them and their cause and chained the future to slavery to the powers that be in Church and State.

Their rhetoric was, however, thrown away on the regent, who sent D'Oysel with a force of 8,000 French and Scots to seize Perth. His progress was arrested at Auchterarder by the advance of Lords Glencairn and Ochiltree, who had quickly

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moved northwards with a force of Ayrshire yeomen in support of the reformers. This move compelled the regent and her commander to negotiate, with the aid of Argyll and Lord James, who had so far held aloof from the Perth movement, and ultimately to guarantee the Protestant worship within the city and immunity from a French garrison. Knox and his associates suspected treachery, and took the precaution to enter into a bond, which Argyll, Lord James, Ochiltree, and Glencairn, among others, signed, to defend their faith in case of the renewal of persecution. Mary of Guise, as Knox rightly divined, had no intention of keeping faith with heretics. Notwithstanding express treaty stipulation, she left a garrison, drawn from the Franco-Scottish army, to overawe the men of Perth, and advanced into Fife with M. D'Oysel in pursuit of Argyll and Lord James, who had summoned the Protestants of Angus and Mearns to St Andrews. With them came Knox to fulfil his prophecy in the French galley by thundering defiance to Antichrist from the pulpit of the parish church, and to set the congregation to work to strip the sacred building of its idolatrous ornaments. Argyll and Lord James repeated the tactics of Glencairn, and, on moving from Falkland towards St Andrews, D'Oysel found the road barred by 3,000 stout Protestants on Cupar Muir. To his query as to the meaning of this demonstration they replied, "that as we have offended no man, so wald we seak appointment of no man; but if any wald seak our lyves (as we wer informed they did), they should find us, if they pleased to mak deligence." In conclusion of further parley they added, "that if they culd find the meane that we and our bretherin myght be free from the tyranny devised against us, they should reasonabillie desyre nothing whiche should be denyed for our parte." The result was an eight days' truce, which, in spite of elaborate negotiations, expired without an accommodation.

Argyll and Lord James improved the opportunity to compel the evacuation of Perth by the regent's garrison, whose surrender was celebrated by the exasperated populace by the burning of Scone Abbey. They then made a dash on Stirling, whilst D'Oysel drew back over the Forth. From Stirling they moved eastwards to Edinburgh, the regent and her com-

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mander retiring as far as Dunbar. They still disclaimed any seditious intention, though the fact could not be gainsaid that they were in open rebellion against constituted authority. Their action, they insisted, was dictated by motives of religion and self-defence. "We mean no tumult," wrote Knox, who was now thundering from the pulpit of St Giles' itself, "no alteratioun of authoritie, but only the reformatioun of religion and suppressing of idolatrie." Rather a large programme certainly, and one which could hardly be accomplished without a good deal of "tumult," without, in fact, the complete overthrow of the regent's policy and authority. "The reformation is somewhat violent," he added in a letter to Cecil, apologetically, "becaus the adversaries be stubborn; non that professeth Christ Jesus usurpeth anything against the authoritie, nyther yet intendeth to usurpe, unless streangearis be brought in to suborn and bring in bondage the liberties of this poore contrey." In that case, he added, the movement might assume a very different aspect.

In spite of his profession of respect for "authority," Knox and his associates must have seen that they had entered on an enterprise which must lead to the undoing of the established government. In the near sequel it came in fact to be a trial of strength between authority backed by a foreign power, and the Congregation backed by English aid. It was not possible to establish the Reformation in opposition to the regent without rebellion, and even revolution, and there would have been more force in Knox's representations and appeals if he had plainly recognised the fact. The regent at all events saw clearly enough that a crisis had come. To come to terms with the Protestants meant the sacrifice of the old Church and a radical breach in policy. Moreover, it would jeopardise her family interests, which were bound up with the supremacy of the Church and the maintenance of the old alliance. The Protestants, as led by Knox, would not be satisfied with toleration, even if she were minded to grant it, which she was not, if she could help it. They would not, could not, on Knox's principles, truckle to idolatry, and the struggle, in spite of his plea of self-defence and his disclaimer of usurping "the authoritie," was indeed one for mastery. In the eyes of the regent such disclaimers were therefore worth

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nothing. Not only were heresy and rebellion to her the same thing; not only was resistance even in self-defence, to her absolutist notions, indefensible. It was a question of supremacy, not of toleration, and a compromise could only postpone the issue. From this point of view the opposition of the regent was natural enough. To her, resistance to the reformers' demands might also appear self-defence. Unfortunately for her, though fortunately for the cause of the Reformation, the Franco-Scottish alliance, by which she strove to defend her position, was, as we have seen, not only unpopular but anti-national. In the light of the secret agreement of 1558, it was as dangerous to the independence of Scotland as the unionist policy of Henry VIII. had been. In the face of this national opposition, seconded as it was by the widespread alienation from the old Church, her defeat was inevitable.

For the present she could afford to ally herself with time, and remain inactive behind the strong walls of Dunbar Castle. The Lords of the Congregation might reform Edinburgh after the model of Perth, and St Andrews, and Dundee, but they could not keep their army together longer than a few weeks, and Lord Erskine, the governor of the castle, would not join them. At the end of July the regent sent D'Oysel to seize Leith, and the lords, thus hemmed in between a hostile camp in front, and a fortified castle, whose guns might at any moment sweep the town, in their rear, were compelled to negotiate and retire to Stirling, after securing terms for the Edinburgh Protestants similar to those formerly granted to their co-religionists of Perth. They again signed a bond of mutual defence before separating, and took the further precaution of actively negotiating with Cecil for the support of England in case of a renewed attempt to crush them with the help of a French army. From the tenor of these negotiations it is evident that the profession of respect for authority was rapidly melting away under the solvent of events. They had now at all events come to see things in their true light, and, to Cecil at least, they threw off the mask. The regent's policy, they assured him, was the suppression of the gospel, the maintenance of idolatry, and the subversion of the liberties of the country, and they intimated that they would not shrink from "the next remeady to withstand [such] tyrannie." In other

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words they would go the length of renouncing their allegiance for the sake of their religion, if Elizabeth would stand by them. This was at least a feasible policy, but Elizabeth would not at this stage commit herself to revolutionary projects against constituted authority, and Cecil was too wary a tactician to unequivocally pledge English support in the meantime. Pending the development of events, they confined themselves to pecuniary assistance.

On the other hand, it is certain that Knox and his associates, in thus decidedly embarking on a treasonable course, had good grounds for their suspicions of the regent's policy. They could not have known of the secret treaties; they were ignorant of the urgent appeals from the regent to the pope and her daughter, now Queen of France, for help to maintain the Church and the French alliance and suppress heresy. But they could not mistake the meaning of the arrival of successive detachments of French troops and the fortification of Leith, where they were stationed. The effect of this revelation is of capital importance in the drama which followed. As in the Netherlands, the presence of these foreign troops played into the hands of the reformers, even if for a time it exposed their cause to great jeopardy. The landing at Leith of detachment after detachment of French soldiers with their wives and children looked like a set attempt to subjugate the country to France, and, in spite of a plausible proclamation by the regent on the subject, it greatly strengthened the reformers' hands. Even in this diplomatic manifesto Mary of Guise could not conceal her animus against men like Knox who presumed to question or impugn the action of their rulers. "Bot of one thing we gif you wairning that quharas sum preachearis of the Congregatioun, in thair publict sermonis, speikes irreverentlie and sklanderouslie, alsweill of Princeis in generall, as of ourself in particulare, and of the obedience to the hiear poweris, inducing the pepill, by that pairt of their doctrine, to defectoun from thair dewatie, quhilk pertenis na thing to religioun: thairfoir we desyre yow to tak ourdour in youre toun and boundis, that quhan the Preachearis repairis thair, they use thame selfis mair modestlie in thay behalfis, and in thair preacheing not to mell [meddle] sa mekle [much] with civill policie and publict governance, nor

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yet name us, or uther Princeis, bot with honour and reverence; eitherwayis it will nocht be sufferit." To trench on politics in the pulpit might in ordinary circumstances be an intolerable and unwarrantable stretch of the preacher's prerogative. In times when the pulpit took the place of the modern press, when politics and Protestantism were drawn into a common vortex, the preacher might be excused for improving his opportunity to inveigh against the sinister purposes of the persecutor, even if the persecutor were the queen regent herself. If "civill policie and publict governance" sent men to the stake for their religious opinions, John Knox and his fellow-preachers were amply justified in thundering defiance to the throne in the pulpit as well as out of it. They were, in fact, serving a more useful function in so doing than in professing the impossible policy of eschewing interference with "the authoritie."

The presence of the French soldiers in increasing numbers rallied a large number of the nobility to the banner of the Congregation. The Duke of Chatelherault and his son the Earl of Arran—the prospective successors to the throne—to whom political and personal motives were the chief incentives, ranged themselves on the side of Lord James and Knox. With their adhesion the political factors in the rebellion became predominant, as appears from the counter-proclamation "to the Nobilitie, Burghes, and Communitie of Scotland," issued in name of "the Lordis, Barones, and otheris, Bretherin of the Christian Congregation." The burden of this complaint is the oppression of the commonweal by strangers and the infraction of its ancient laws and liberties. It is against secular rather than religious abuses that these men inveigh with such heat of patriotic rhetoric—against crushing taxation, against the base coin that has demoralised all industry, against the maintenance of a foreign army for the subjugation of a free State. "If it be sedition . . . to cry for redress of thir enormyties, then indeed can nane of us be purgeit of that cryme, for as in verray hart we dampne sich inhumayne creweltie, with the wicked and craftie pretence thairof, sua can we, nor dar we . . . by keiping of silence justifie the same." Many of these lords might be self-seeking politicians (the weathercock Chatelherault, with Elizabeth's hand in prospect

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for his son, among them), but the scribe who indited this eloquent document—one of the most spirited protests against tyranny ever written—evidently poured out his whole heart on the paper. The penman was in all probability John Knox, and Knox, by suppressing for the most part his rage against idolatry, and directing it straight at the mundane evils which preyed on his country, never penned anything so telling. John Knox is at his best in such passages, and the ill-natured critics who would reduce him to the level of the swashbuckler cannot surely have read him at his best. Every line reflects the power of a strong personality, which critical carping can never belittle.

By his self-restraint he fairly took the wind out of the regent's sails. It was as defenders of the commonweal against a wretched *régime*, supported by a foreign soldiery, that the Lords of the Congregation advanced this time from Stirling to Edinburgh. On their arrival on the 16th October they sent a final demand to the regent in Leith for the dismissal of the French troops. Her reply was a point-blank refusal. Such a letter, she added, would have come better from a prince to his subjects than from subjects to their prince. On the same day on which they received this curt communication, the 21st October, the lords, barons, and burgesses assembled in the Tolbooth to debate the question of her deposition. They first put the query, whether a tyrannic ruler may rightfully be deposed, to Knox and his colleague Willock. Both answered that although magistrates were appointed by divine ordinance, their power was limited by the law of God and their duty to the subject. The queen regent, having transgressed both the law of God and the law of the land, and having absolutely refused amendment, might justly be deprived of her authority by the lords and barons, the natural representatives of the nation. Deprived she accordingly was, at the conclusion of a long recapitulation of the facts of her misgovernment, as an "enemye to our commonweall, abusing the power of the said authoritie, to the destructioun of the samyn." The sentence purported to be given in the name and by the authority of the king and queen. This was of course a fiction, springing from the desire to give their proceedings a constitutional colour; for these lords, barons, and commons who

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affixed their names to the document would not be esteemed revolutionists. They vindicate no new revolutionary principles, but appeal to ancient laws and liberties, and, apart from their championship of Protestantism, they are mediæval, not modern, in spirit. Strictly constitutional their action was not. But the facts adduced were amply sufficient to justify it on moral and political grounds.

For the present it was, however, singularly ineffective. From her citadel in Leith, Mary of Guise could afford to ridicule the solemn sentence hurled at her head, and the attempts of the lords to bring it home to her at the point of sword and cannon were disastrous failures. Their raw levies were beaten in several skirmishes by her disciplined troops, and even, on one occasion, pursued into the heart of the capital. There was nothing for it but a second retreat to Stirling. It was now the turn of the regent to assume the offensive, and, with the arrival of additional French detachments and the advance of D'Oysel against Stirling, things looked desperate enough for the lords and the preachers. At D'Oysel's approach they fled from Stirling. Knox's prophecies seemed to have lured them only to destruction. From Stirling D'Oysel turned eastwards through Fife, in spite of the strenuous opposition of Lord James and Arran, to attack St Andrews. "Where is now John Knox his God?" cried the regent in triumph. "My God is stronger than his, even in Fife." The startling appearance in the Firth of Forth of an English fleet, which D'Oysel mistook for an expected French squadron, came just in time (23rd January 1560) to reassure Knox that Providence was still on his side. In response to a new appeal for help, made on behalf of the lords by Maitland of Lethington, whose diplomatic ability made him a formidable recruit, Elizabeth had at last resolved to intervene to the extent at least of blocking the Forth against further reinforcements from France. The swelling of the French army in Scotland by successive detachments was a menace to England as well as Scotland which she could no longer afford to ignore. Hence the appearance of the English squadron, which frightened D'Oysel into a precipitate retreat back to Stirling and Leith. In another month the Treaty of Berwick, concluded by the Duke of Norfolk on behalf of

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Elizabeth, and the Duke of Chatelherault, Lord James, and Maitland of Lethington for the confederate lords, bound the English queen to send an army with all expedition to help the confederates to expel the French from Scotland (27th February 1560). The confederates on their side undertook henceforth to be enemies to the enemies of England, to prevent the annexation of Scotland to France, and to furnish a Scottish contingent in case of a French invasion of England. Moreover, they protested that by this agreement they did not in any way prejudice the independence of Scotland, or resile from their allegiance to their lawful sovereigns, as long as they did not infringe the just and ancient liberties of the kingdom.

In pursuance of this treaty, Lord Grey crossed the Border with a force of 10,000 men, in the beginning of April. At Prestonpans, near the scene of the battle of Pinkie, a Scottish and an English army again drew together—this time as allies, not as enemies—a most memorable as well as exceptional fact in Scottish and English annals. On the 6th this united army closed in on Leith. Leith was resolutely defended for three months by its garrison of 4,000 French, who had the best of it in the fighting in the open as well as in the attacks on the walls. They were, nevertheless, struggling for a losing cause. Four thousand Frenchmen could not ultimately defy the united strength of Scotland and England, even if starvation could have been indefinitely staved off, and the death of the regent on the 10th of June brought matters to a crisis. This event opened the way to negotiations, in which Cecil himself, as Elizabeth's representative, took a chief part with Monluc, bishop of Valence, and La Rochefoucauld, Sieur de Randan, who represented Queen Mary and her husband with full powers.

After three weeks' deliberation, Monluc and Randan undertook, *inter alia*, that Francis and Mary should not use the royal title and arms of England, and agreed, in their name, "at the intercession and request of Elizabeth," to a number of articles relative to the demands of the Lords of the Congregation. By these articles Mary and Francis agreed to the withdrawal of the French soldiery, with the exception of a hundred and twenty men in Dunbar and Inchkeith, and to

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the assembly of a convention of the Estates on the 10th July, which should adjourn to the 1st August in order to allow of the complete cessation of hostilities. The Parliament, subject to this condition, should be as valid "in all respects" as if summoned expressly by the king and queen, and all who had been wont to be present should have the right to attend without fear or constraint. Mary and Francis further undertook not to make peace or war without the consent of the Estates of the realm, and to confide the government to a council of twelve—seven of whom to be chosen by their majesties, and five by the Estates from twenty-four candidates nominated by the latter—and all offices of State to native-born Scotsmen. On the subject of religion, Monluc and Randan professed inability to treat, though they had received the fullest powers, and referred the lords to the king and queen. This was evidently a mere subterfuge to evade the demand for the establishment of Protestantism, but the lords ultimately agreed to choose commissioners in the ensuing Parliament to submit their remonstrances on this head to their majesties (Treaty of Edinburgh, 6th July 1560).

The historians have composed heaps of debatable matter on this treaty. In the ardour of argument they have usually overlooked one of its most remarkable features—for us the most interesting. The treaty clearly reveals the determination of these doughty Scots to take the management of their affairs into their own hands. Formally, they appear deferential to their rulers, but they took care to limit their action by the consent of Parliament in the important matter of peace and war, and to control the administration by investing in the Estates the nomination of the candidates from whom the sovereigns were to select the members of the council.

This transaction was a signal triumph for Cecil as well as for John Knox and his associates. If Queen Mary would ratify these stipulations and faithfully observe them, harmony between Scotland and England was assured. Cecil saw only a clear horizon where before the thunderclouds of international animosities had often lowered. The treaty, he wrote to Elizabeth, "would finally procure that conquest of Scotland which none of her progenitors, with all their battles, ever obtained, viz., the whole hearts and goodwill of the nobility

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and people, which surely was better for England than the revenue of the crown."

The Protestant leaders have been harshly blamed for thus turning the tables on their antagonists by the English alliance. Some of them doubtless, like Chatelherault, thought more of their personal interests than those of their country. That alliance had, too, been associated with the treachery and corruption of the Anglophile party during the reign of Henry VIII. It was, as "The Complaynt of Scotland" shows, regarded by most ardent patriots as the consummation of baseness, and its odium has been reflected on the reformers. The reformers, however, could advance weighty patriotic as well as religious reasons for their action, and it must be clear to every unprejudiced mind that, at this juncture, it saved Scotland from a craftily conceived bondage to a foreign power. The real danger to Scottish independence now lay, not on the side of England but on the side of France. Moreover, to be a supporter of the English alliance was not necessarily to be a renegade and an unpatriotic plotter. There were unionists, even in the days of Henry VIII., who were as conscientious and upright in their opinions as the most rabid supporter of the Franco-Scottish alliance. John Major and Balnaves, for instance—the one a staunch Catholic, the other a staunch Protestant. It is unnecessary to say aught in vindication of Major's enlightened politics, though he was a voice crying in the wilderness of his day. Of Balnaves it is sufficient to say that he lost his post of Secretary of State under Arran for his unionist principles. The Protestant policy was by no means essentially unpatriotic. It could be defended on national as well as religious and personal grounds.

The Parliament which convened for business in the beginning of August has been decried as an illegal assembly by those who see nothing but sedition and treachery in the Acts of 1560. Extraordinary it was; illegal it was not, for it is expressly stipulated that the assembly shall be in all respects as valid as an ordinary Parliament, "provided always that no matter whatever shall be treated of before the foresaid first day of August." It assembled, therefore, in strict accordance with the terms of the treaty. Those who are bent on picking holes in the Scottish Reformation further make much of the

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point that the concourse of smaller barons was larger than customary. But neither law nor custom existed to prevent these smaller barons from taking their seats if they wished, and besides, the stipulation was intended not to forestall their presence, but to prevent any from being absent through constraint or fear. In regard to the religious question, the treaty bears that the lords engaged to choose in the ensuing convention some persons of quality "to repair and remonstrate to their majesties the state of affairs," and to understand their intention and pleasure in reference to the same. This article does lend itself to the conclusion that the lords would consult their majesties, through a parliamentary deputation, on the religious question before coming to a final decision on the subject. Whether the lords would be able or inclined, in the face of an overwhelming majority in Parliament, to carry out this stipulation to the letter, was another question, especially as they must have known that to demand the establishment of Protestantism from such a quarter was to court a refusal, and thus undo the work of the previous fifteen months. The object of the stipulation was evidently to afford a pretext for evasion, and, though their action was a contravention of it, they acted as they considered that the exigencies of their cause demanded, and took the precaution of fortifying their commissioner (for one only was sent) with an unequivocal expression of the national will, in order to obviate further evasion. Their action was not very scrupulous, but Mary and Francis were certainly not entitled, in view of their secret treachery to the Estates in an even more crucial matter, to play the indignant on the score of unscrupulousness.

An extraordinary feature of the proceedings of this Parliament was the practical unanimity with which the Protestant Confession of Faith, drawn up by Knox and his fellow-preachers, was adopted. The short interval of a year's conflict had evidently sufficed to drive a large section of the nation into Calvin's fold.

The various articles of the Confession were read and voted in a crowded assembly with hardly a dissentient voice even among the clerical members. The minority against its ratification only numbered five peers and three prelates. The creed of centuries fell in as many days. With even greater

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expedition the Estates recorded their condemnation of the papal authority and the mass. On one day, viz., the 24th August, they abolished the pope's jurisdiction as "very hurtful and prejudicial to the authoritie of the sovereign and the commonweal of the realm," annulled all Acts of Parliament sanctioning "idolatry and superstition in the Kirk of God," and prohibited the celebration of the mass as contrary to the ordinance of God. To acknowledge the authority of the pope was henceforth to incur proscription and banishment; to say or hear mass in public, or even in private, was made punishable with confiscation and imprisonment for a first, banishment for a second, death for a third offence. These penal laws are in keeping with the teaching of the Confession of Faith as to the obligation of the civil magistrate to maintain "the trew religioun." "Moreover, to Kingis, Princes, Reullaris, and Magistratis we affirme that chieflie and maist principallie the reformation (conservatioun) and purgatioun of the Religioun apperteanes; so that not onlie thei are appointed for civile policey, bot also for maintenance of the trew Religioun, and for suppressing of idolatrie and superstitioun whatsomever, as in David, Josaphat, Ezechias, Josias, and otheris, heychtlie [highly] commended for thair zeall in that caise, may be espyed. And thairfoir we confesse and avow that sich as resist the supreme power (doing that thing which appearteanis to his charge) do resist Goddis ordinance, and thairfoir cannot be guyltless." In advocating the rights of the Protestant conscience, Knox had played a very different tune. In that case resistance is both a divine and a human duty; in the case of the Catholic conscience, resistance is rebellion against both God and the civil power. In Scotland, as elsewhere, the reformers had not learned the most important lesson of the persecution against which they had protested in the pulpit and on the battlefield, though happily they refrained from enforcing the death penalty. The idea of toleration was incomprehensible to the genius of this fighting age, and, in spite of that gospel of forbearance and love to which they appealed against the coercive methods of their opponents, to persist in saying or hearing mass meant death to the idolater. It is a regrettable feature of the dogmatism of the winning side that freedom of con-

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science was still incompatible with true religion. Unfortunately, freedom of conscience had against it the instinct of self-preservation as well as the force of a narrow dogmatism. When for both parties it was a question of supremacy or annihilation, freedom of conscience might well appear treason to the cause for which the martyrs had burned and blood had been shed on the field of battle. The fact is none the less regrettable, and John Knox could not now consistently include persecution in the category of crimes imputable to Antichrist. Least of all men could Knox profit by the experience of twenty years of struggle and suffering to learn the lesson of moderation. Moderation was for him damnable error, and to be guilty of error, even on the side of charity, was justly to incur confiscation, imprisonment, and death. Here again Knox is no prophet of the modern spirit.

The majority of the Estates were hotly Protestant in doctrine and practice. Their Protestantism cooled to zero when it came to the question of the disposal of Church property. In that majority was a large proportion of lords and lairds, whose zeal had been whetted by the prospect of sharing in the plunder of the ruined Church. This became patent enough when a new convention met in the following January, and the preachers presented to it a "Book of Discipline" for the organisation of the Reformed Church. The Book elaborated not only a strict censorship of morals and doctrine, redolent of Geneva, but a scheme for the establishment of an efficient ministry—after the Calvinist model,—and a national educational system, beginning with the parish school, rising to the secondary school, and culminating in the university. In order to realise this scheme in its integrity, Knox and his associates laid claim to the patrimony of the Church. But the demand involved the appropriation by the Reformed Church of the ecclesiastical property, which had already passed into the hands of lords and lairds, as well as of that which remained in the hands of the old clergy. Needless to say, the majority of these lords and lairds were not prepared to go this length in their zeal for Protestantism, and the "Book of Discipline" failed to secure unanimity. A section of the members indeed subscribed it as "goode, and conform to God's Word in all poyntes," but it did not, like the Confession, find a place in

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the statute book. With respect to its educational scheme in particular, and its provision for the deserving poor, it remained merely a literary monument of the enlightenment and philanthropy of its authors. The result was a bitter disappointment to Knox, who gave vent to his indignation at the selfishness of many of these would-be Protestants in his usual blunt fashion. "Some [of the nobility] approved it, and willed the samyn have bene sett furth be a law. Otheris, perceaving thair carnall libertie and worldlie commoditie somewhat to be impaired thairby, grudged, insomuche that the name of the 'Book of Discipline' became odious unto thame. Everie thing that repugned to thair corrupt affectionis was termed in thair mockage, 'devote imaginationis.' The caus we have befoir declaired; some war licentious, some had greedelie gripped to the possessionis of the Kirk, and otheris thought that thei wald nott lack thair part of Christis coat; yea, and that befoir that ever he was hanged, as by the Preachearis thei war oft rebuked." It would hardly be fair to accept implicitly Knox's animadversions even on his friends when they happened to cross his path. He was not the most charitable of critics of his own associates, let alone his theological opponents, and he is not always a safe exponent of motives. His personal disinterestedness is, however, above question, and the eagerness to "grip" the gear of the Church, which he lays to the charge of many of his lay brethren, is an ugly blot on their memory. The scramble for Church property was not, in fact, exclusively the fruit of the events of this memorable year 1560. It had been in progress, on various pretexts, directly or indirectly, long before the Reformation, and the Reformation only witnessed the climax of the policy of spoliation for personal ends. Worse still, these Protestant landgrabbers proved as heavy taskmasters of their new tenants as the miserable bishops and priests, who lived on the fat of the land at the poor man's expense. Knox's sermons might overthrow Antichrist; they certainly did not succeed in inaugurating the reign of righteousness for the oppressed masses.

Opposition to the "Book of Discipline" was, however, not necessarily actuated by sordid motives. The censorship over the individual and the community, which it would have estab-

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lished, might easily lead to an inquisitional tyranny, and it is not surprising if many of the lords and lairds were dubious as to the advisability of subjecting the country to such a Calvinist inquisition. It is difficult to conceive that it would have been welcome to the mass of the people, whose rustic joys it would have nipped with the frost of an obtrusive sanctity. Nor should we forget, in judging Knox's estimate of the Scottish nobility, the patriotic service rendered by these men in taking a firm stand against a *régime* which undoubtedly tended to sacrifice the interests of Scotland to France. A section of the nobility was, too, undoubtedly sincere in its attachment to the reform movement. Men like Lord James and Erskine of Dun, who had borne the brunt of the struggle from the beginning, were not mere opportunists. Lord James was the great politician of the party, and the conduct of politicians will not invariably stand the test of narrow scrutiny from the point of view of the idealist. Even Knox did not always keep a straight course when he took to political intrigue. Lord James managed to "grip" a good deal of gear in his time, and did not lose sight of his worldly interests. But we must beware of swallowing the malicious gossip circulated against him and his associates by the defeated party. To the rabid papists, smarting under defeat, Knox is an unmitigated scoundrel, Lord James a subtle egoist. Partisan writers like Leslie, bishop of Ross, accuse the queen's natural brother of the most sinister purposes in his antagonism to Mary of Guise. She had refused him the earldom of Moray, which her daughter subsequently conferred, and in his resentment he was actively intriguing to secure the throne for himself. Such statements, coming from a bitter enemy, are certainly not convincing. On the other hand, the strong testimony of the English ambassador and others to his sincerity and integrity are open to the objection that they are the panegyrics of interested friends. The tone of Lord James's letters at this period certainly do not tend to confirm Leslie's aspersions. These letters might have been written by a designing hypocrite, but such is not the impression they convey. When, for instance, Mary sent him an angry epistle taxing him with sedition and ingratitude for his conduct to her mother, he replied respectfully, but firmly, that in following his conscience

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in things religious he was by no means lacking in his allegiance as a subject. There is the same ring of sincerity in his protestation to the regent herself. "For God I tak to record that in this action I have nether socht and nether yitt seekis any uther thing than God's glorie to encrease and the liberties of this poure realm to be mentenit." Such asseverations are common enough on the lips of the scheming politicians of the age. But Lord James at this period had more reason to look for personal advancement to the favour of his sister than to the struggling cause of the reformers, and in any case it is a narrow judgment that would gauge the Scottish Reformation merely from the conduct of its leaders. This is the tactic of a certain school of writers, whose idea of the Reformation seems to be that it was a movement engineered by a set of hypocrites or swindlers, and who seek to depreciate it by ridiculing men like Knox, and "showing up" in the smart style of the superior critic men like Lord James and Erskine. Such critics have no conception of the grim and passionate reaction against the ecclesiastical abuses and abominations that disgusted and angered the better spirits of the age, and roused a whirlwind of popular fury against the hypocrite and the oppressor in priestly garb. To a certain extent it was a baronial or aristocratic movement, and it is easy to pick holes in it. But this is not the whole or even the distinctive aspect of the case. There was a popular inspiration, a moral and spiritual force, that played a mighty part in the drama, even though it may not bulk on the stage on which the plotters and the potentates occupy so large a place. The diplomatists who intrigued and counter-intrigued doubtless did their share of the performance. But the real history of the movement does not lie in the documents which they have left us in such voluminous quantity. Minus the element of soul-searching conviction, which sought expression in passionate and, at times, blind violence, the age would never have become an epoch. He who does not see in this drama the throes of the birth of a new age does not understand it. This element of conviction and aspiration welling up in masses of men, like the billows lashed by the sudden tempest, is to us unmistakable. It might be wanting south of the Border, where the Reformation was largely forged in the royal

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cabinet. North of the Border it comes at length with all the force of a crusade, and the crusaders are the men of Perth, St Andrews, Dundee, Stirling, the men of Angus, Mearns, Fife, Ayr, who, with Knox for their Godfrey de Bouillon, rose to fight the battle of the Lord against the false prophets of their day.

In spite of the unanimous vote of the Confession of Faith, there were still days of stress in store for the Scottish Reformation. For lack of funds and preachers, the organisation of the Reformed Church was far from complete. Mary and her husband refused to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh, and were hostile to the revolution in both Church and State. The death of Francis II., in December 1560, loosened the bond that bound the queen to France and delivered Scotland from its allegiance to a foreign potentate. But the prospect of Mary's advent in her own kingdom was not reassuring for the adherents of the reformed creed. She had been born and brought up in the Roman faith, and for Protestantism she had all the dislike that family ties and early training tended to beget. If it is impossible to imagine Mary Stuart in the *rôle* of a Huguenot, it is equally impossible to see in her a promising pupil of a master like Knox. Between them, as shall appear, there was the antipathy of character, training, aspiration, ideal, and Knox had only too good reason to regard the future with misgiving. Moreover, the old creed had still its votaries, in spite of parliamentary pains and penalties, whilst the professed Protestantism of many of the nobility was only too patently the outcome of political and personal considerations. There was scope enough in the situation for intrigue and reaction, and for the next five years Knox and his trusty henchmen had still to man the walls of Zion to do battle against the secret and open attacks of its enemies. For us the sequel is interesting as affording further opportunity for the vindication of political principles which the defence of as well as the resistance to the Reformation in Scotland called forth. The revolution of 1560 was in truth but the preface to the revolution of 1567. It had been carried by a few resolute men, with the help of the people, in direct opposition to the sovereign will as represented by the queen regent. Events speedily proved that it must be

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maintained in antagonism to that will as embodied in the queen herself.

SOURCES.—Knox, History of the Reformation in Scotland, vols. i. and ii. of Laing's edition of his Works; Knox's political writings, particularly Balnaves' Treatise on Justification, and Knox's "Briefe Sommarie" thereof, in vol. iii. of Works, especially chap. 28, Certain Questions concerning Obedience to Lawful Magistrates, with Answers by Bullinger, in *ibid.*; The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women, in vol. iv. of Works, and the edition of Arber in the English Scholar's Library; The Appellation and Supplication to the Nobilitie, Estates, and Commonaltie of Scotland, in *ibid.*; The Confession of Faith, and the Buke of Discipline, in vol. ii. of Works; Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. ii.; Concilia Scotiæ; Calendar of State Papers (Scotland), edited by Thorpe, vol. i., 1509-89 (1858); Calendar of Scottish Papers, vol. i., 1547-63, edited by Bain; Labanof, Lettres de Marie Stuart, t. i., 1542-67 (1844); Teulet, Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Écosse, t. ii., 1559-73 (1862); Pitscottie's and Leslie's Histories; Bishop Keith, Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, Spottiswoode Society, vol. i. (1835); Calderwood, History of the Kirk of Scotland, edited for the Wodrow Society by the Rev. Thomas Thomson, vols. i. and ii. (1843-44); Mitchell, Scottish Reformation; Hay Fleming, Mary Queen of Scots (1897), and The Scottish Reformation (1903); Hume Brown, History of Scotland, vol. ii. (1902), and John Knox (1895); Burton, History of Scotland, vols. iii. and iv.; Tytler, History of Scotland, vol. iii.; M'Crie, John Knox; Lang, History of Scotland, vol. ii. (1902), (strongly anti-Protestant and keenly controversial).

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CHAPTER XVI.

REFORMATION AND REVOLUTION IN SCOTLAND—QUEEN MARY AND JOHN KNOX.

THE arrival of Queen Mary from France in August 1561 did not at first materially change the situation. Her subjects were prepared to give her a hearty welcome, and she, on her side, made up her mind to accept the *status quo* in the meantime. She had eschewed the request of Huntly and other northern Catholic magnates to land at Aberdeen, and put herself at the head of the 20,000 men whom, they assured her, they could bring into the field, on behalf of a Catholic reaction. She preferred the counsel of Lord James, who had gone to France to interview her, to the extent at least of not attempting to upset the religious settlement of August 1560. She adopted a temporising policy, though she had hitherto strenuously refused the demand of Elizabeth as well as the Scottish Parliament to ratify the Edinburgh treaty. Her refusal to homologate the Acts of the Scottish Parliament was natural. Her attachment to her own creed barred the way, and the Convention had not scrupulously observed the terms of the Edinburgh agreement on one point, and had thus given her a fair pretext for evasion and procrastination. She would, however, have consulted her real interests by capitulating to the reformers, for it was a delusive notion that Scotland would return to its allegiance to the old Church, or ultimately submit to be governed by a papist ruler. Moreover, she complicated a sufficiently embarrassing situation by refusing to ratify that part of the treaty renouncing Elizabeth's title. She hinted to "her sister" that she had no right to interfere between her and her subjects, and that in any case the death of her husband had rendered a revision of the treaty necessary. Moreover, if she renounced her title to the English throne, she had a right to receive in return the recognition of her claim

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to the succession, in case of the death of Elizabeth without issue. She forgot that, even if Elizabeth had been willing to risk such a concession, the English Parliament would not for a moment have entertained the prospect of a Catholic successor. Henceforth in fact, despite the occasional exchange of epistolary courtesies, the two queens were irreconcilable enemies, and the ill-will, hostility, and jealousy of Elizabeth did not tend to make for Mary the task of ruling Scotland easier.

She was six years old when she left Scotland; she was nineteen when she returned to it. She had been carefully educated in France, but the French court was no school of morality, and the hypocrisy, bigotry, corruption, and license rampant under the auspices of Diana of Poitiers, Henry the Second's mistress, were certainly not fitted to make a saint of Mary Stuart. She was the darling of Diana, and it is difficult to imagine Diana in the *rôle* of the professor of exalted principles of government or morals. Her accomplishments were many, however, and in grace, beauty, sprightliness, she must have been in sober verity one of the most fascinating of queens. According to the English ambassador, Throckmorton, she was wise for her years, and amenable to counsel. Insight, subtlety, vigour, pertinacity, courage, elasticity she had. If in addition to these qualities she had been possessed of a fair share of self-control, she would have been a less tragic, but a far greater figure in history. Unfortunately, too, she was more French than Scottish in sympathy and character, and, in view of the events of recent years, this was not a qualification in the occupant of the Scottish throne. She came to a people accustomed to take and give blows in support of their interests or their opinions. Fierce and turbulent were these Scottish barons by nature, though not without some culture at this period, and the leaven of religious passion did not make the ruling of them, or the people beneath them, easier. To one trained at a court where absolutist notions and egregious sycophancy hallowed the name of king, the independent spirit of barons and people must have given a rude shock.

Scotland, nevertheless, gave her a kindly welcome, and she gracefully and gaily suited herself to the occasion. Her

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musical ears bore with exemplary long-suffering the homely serenade, under the windows of Holyrood, by what Knox calls "a company of honest men with instruments of music," though it tore the nerves of Brantôme, who cursed the "mechans violons," and had the presumption to say that the melody was that of a psalm tune! She showed in a still more marked degree "the judgment" with which Throckmorton credited her by choosing as her advisers the men with whom, from a religious point of view, she could least sympathise—Lord James and Maitland. She only stipulated that she might hear mass in her private chapel; and the stipulation, despite of Knox, was not unreasonable. She could not be expected to capitulate at once, even if capitulation was within the range of possibility.

Within the range of possibility it was not. She was as deeply attached to the old creed as her descendant James II., and as resolved, as her letters to Pope Pius IV., the Cardinal of Lorraine, and Philip II. unequivocally prove, to work for its restoration. She never, in fact, made any secret of her attachment to the Roman Church, though she took good care not to divulge her compromising correspondence with the pope and Philip. "The religion that I profess," she had frankly told Throckmorton before her return, as she told John Knox after it, "I take to be most acceptable to God, and indeed neither do I know, nor desire to know, any other." In religion, as in other respects, she added, God commanded subjects to be obedient to their rulers. She would, however, constrain no one.

Her correspondence with the pope does not confirm the profession of toleration which she frequently made after her return. It shows her in the light of a devoted daughter of the Roman Church, who is prepared to risk her crown and even her life in the interests of the papacy, and her real policy, in her secret missives to Rome and Madrid, is to bring about a Catholic restoration as soon as possible. What a Catholic restoration, under her auspices, would have meant for the Protestants is not dubious. Knox would certainly have lost his head, and most probably he would only have been one of many martyrs. For the present, however, she had resolved to bide her time, and politicians, like Lord James

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and Maitland, adopted a temporising policy as the only feasible one, and waived the ratification of the Convention settlement. If they had known the contents of the epistles to the pope and the Cardinal of Lorraine, they would probably not have been so compliant. If so, they would certainly have been open to the charge of treachery to Protestantism which Knox levelled against them.

Very different was the attitude of Knox and the more staunch of his adherents. To him compromise was a sheer impossibility. Even if he had not been apprehensive of sinister consequences, he would none the less have testified against the iniquity of thus paying tribute to "idolatry." It did not occur to him, in spite of his eternal appeal to conscience, that it was both inconsistent and criminal to insist on conformity without conviction. To celebrate the mass is to serve the devil; even to allow its celebration is to share in the guilt of this devil worship. You cannot, he warned Lord James and Maitland, serve God and the devil, and in this spirit he ceased not to inveigh, preach, pray, in opposition to both Mary and her advisers. It must be said for him, that while his vehement intolerance is repellent and indefensible as a principle of conduct, Mary's mass, in view of her ulterior aims, constituted a real menace to Protestantism, and that he had a real insight into the logic of the situation. He was far more intense, he was also more sagacious, in his own intolerant fashion than the politicians. Mary, he believed, would never conform; he suspected, if he could not prove, the intrigues to undo the work of himself and the Lords of the Congregation. To temporise to the extent of allowing the queen not only to celebrate mass but to ignore the acts of the Convention, was, in his eyes, simply to risk the fruits of victory by refusing to follow it up. Risky it certainly was in view of the fiercely partisan spirit of the age, and the active intrigues all over Western Europe, from which Mary was by no means excluded, on behalf of the counter-Reformation. True, the policy of punishing with death those who persisted in saying mass was a barbarous one, and a moderating hand on the throne was sorely needed to restrain the Protestant persecutor. But death had been in Scotland, and still was in France, the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy, the penalty for refusing to say mass, and, in

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spite of Mary's profession of toleration, it is to be feared that, with the pope and the Cardinal of Lorraine for mentors, death would have been the penalty again, if she had succeeded in the plan of undoing the work of the reformers. From the practical point of view, therefore, it is easy to understand, if not in all points to sympathise with, the vehemence with which Knox demanded the unequivocal recognition of the Protestant revolution.

To the queen, Knox, we are credibly assured, appeared, even before she left France, as "the most dangerous man in all her realm of Scotland." There certainly was nothing in the iron character of the man to disarm this prejudice. In his blunt, uncourtierlike ways he was less accommodating in his relations with his sovereign than even the Calvinist Sully with the Catholic Henry IV. No man ever spoke so fearlessly in the presence of princes, and it is indeed a strange transformation to turn from the speeches of an English courtier of the time of a Henry VIII., or an Elizabeth, to a speech of John Knox to Queen Mary. He is the same vehement, outspoken, stern wrestler against the devil in the royal presence as out of it. Not a jot of his conviction or his vehemence will he discard in argument even with the most fascinating woman of his time, and that woman his own sovereign. Preachers in those days were remarkable for the directness of their discourse from the pulpit. At close quarters in the royal reception chamber John Knox is unique. He exercised a powerful influence over women of a certain type of character. To a Mrs Locke and a Mrs Bowes he was a very dictator. But Mary Stuart was made of different stuff from these pious Protestant ladies, and "stood up" to the fierce zealot with a spirit and a cleverness that both tried his dialectic skill and ruffled his temper. Between them there could only be ineradicable antagonism, and this antagonism broke out within a few days after the queen set foot in Scotland. On the Sunday following her arrival Mary had private mass celebrated in the chapel at Holyrood, and it required all the firmness of Lord James to prevent its forcible suppression by the crowd assembled outside. In spite of a proclamation forbidding any innovation in the religious *status quo*, Knox promptly testified against such truckling to idolatry from the

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pulpit of St Giles'. One mass, he excitedly asserted, "was more fearful than gif ten thousand armed enemyes war landed in any pairte of the realm of purpose to suppress the hoill religion." Mary determined to attempt the impossible task of arguing with the terrible preacher, and summoned him to the first of those interviews, whose grim earnestness and unconscious humour make them unique in the annals of courts. Two antagonistic creeds and two antagonistic natures met in this encounter. Mary, the devotee of Romish tradition, and the refined woman of the world, who is responsive to the things of sense; Knox, the champion of the Bible, and nothing but the Bible, the austere prophet who is consumed by the things of the Spirit. For us, however, the chief interest of the debate lies in the political rather than the theological or personal element. To the queen Knox is a fomenter of sedition against legitimate authority. Had he not set up the lieges against herself and her mother? Had he not written a book against the royal authority? Had he not caused rebellion and bloodshed in England? While admitting in his reply that he had striven with all his might against idolatry and the tyranny of Antichrist, he strenuously maintained that to make the people Protestant was not to make them seditious. The Protestants were as loyal subjects as her father or his ancestors ever had. As to the "Blast against the Monstrous Regiment," he would not make that a bone of contention, though he still claimed the right of a free opinion on the question. "If the realme findis no inconvenience frome the regiment of a woman, that whiche thei approve, shall I not further disallow then within my awin breast, but sal· be alse weall content to lyve under your Grace, as Paull was to lyve under Nero. . . . In verray deed, Madame, that Book was written maist especialie against that wicked Jesabell of England." As to the charge of spreading sedition in England by his Protestant preaching, he could point to the most convincing of all testimonies—that of fact. If Protestantism was equivalent with sedition, how was it that there had not been a single riot at Berwick, Newcastle, and London, where he had laboured for five years? "Now, Madam, yf in any of these places, during the tyme that I wes thair, any man sal be able to prove that thair wes eather battell, seditioun, or mutinie, I shall confesse

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that I my selff was the malefactor, and the scheddar of the bloode. I eschame not, Madam, further to affirme that God so blissed my waik labouris, that in Berwick (whair commonlie before thair used to be slauchter, be ressone of quarrellis that used to aryse amongis soldartis) thair was as great quyetnes, all the tyme that I remained thair, as thair is this day in Edinburgh."

For Mary, however, the religion of the prince is the only legitimate religion, and to teach or profess any other is necessarily seditious. Both these assumptions her opponent strenuously disallows. Religion derives neither its origin nor its authority from the prince, but from the eternal God alone, and subjects are not bound to shape their creed according to the appetites of their princes. If so, what right had the Jews or the early Christians to refuse to worship the gods of Egypt or Rome? Nay, not only may subjects dissent from the creed of the prince, but they may resent his tyrannic commands. But, objected the queen, neither the Jews in Egypt nor the Christians in pagan Rome raised the sword against their rulers. "Yit, Madam, ye cane not deny but that they resisted; for thai that obey nott the commandimentis that ar gevin, in some sort resist." "But yett (said sche) thai resisted not by the sweard." "God, Madam (said he), had not given unto thame the power and the meanes." "Think ye (quod sche) that subjectis having power may resist thair Princes?" "Yf thair princes exceed thair boundis (quod he), Madam, and do against that whairfoir they should be obeyed, it is no doubt but that thei may be resisted, even by power. For thair is neather grettar honour, nor grettar obedience to be given to kings or princes, then God hes commanded to be given unto father and mother. But so it is, Madam, that the father may be stricken with a phrensye, in the which he would slay his awin children. Now, Madam, if the children aryise, joyne thame selfis together, apprehend the father, tack the sweard or other weapoun frome him, and finallie bind his handis, and keepe him in preasone till that his phrenesy be overpast, think ye, Madam, that the children do any wrang? Or think ye, Madam, that God wil be offended with thame that have stayed thair father to committ wickedness? It is even so (said he), Madam, with princes that wold murther the children

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of God that are subject unto thame. Thair blynd zeall is nothing but a verray mad phrenesie, and thairfoir to tak the sweard frome thame, to bynd thair handis, and to cast thame selfis in preasone till that thei be brought to a more sober mynd is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, becaus that it agreeth with the will of God."

"At these wordis" (to continue Knox's narrative) "the Quene stood as it war amased more then the quarter of ane hour. Her countenance altered so that Lord James began to entreet her, and to demand, 'What has offended you, Madam?' At lenth sche said, 'Weall then, I perceave that my subjectis shall obey you, and not me; and shall do what thei list, and nott what I command; and so man I be subject to thame and nott thei to me.' 'God forbid (answered he) that ever I tack uponn me to command any to obey me, or yitt to set subjectis at libertie to do what pleaseth thame. Bot my travell is that boyth princes and subjectis obey God. And think not (said he), Madam, that wrong is done unto you when ye ar willed to be subject unto God; for it is he that subjects people under princes, and causes obedience to be gevin unto them; yea, God craves of kingis that thei be as it war foster-fatheris to his Churche, and commands quenis to be nurisses unto his people. And this subjectioun, Madam, unto God and unto his trubled Churche is the greatest dignitie that flesche can get upoun the face of the earth, for it shall cary thame to everlasting glorie.'"

In claiming for the Protestants the right to defend themselves from persecution, and change the national creed in spite of the opposition of the ruler, Knox undoubtedly had the best of the argument. If Mary had only known it, her antagonist, in emphasising the right of resistance to kings, was merely asserting a doctrine which some of the most distinguished doctors of the mediæval Church had boldly proclaimed. Knox only borrowed it from Major, as Major had borrowed it from Gerson and his scholastic predecessors. Mary's high notions of prerogative had no ground either in reason or in the constitution, and they might besides have been confuted from the dicta of both popes and papal doctors. Her attempt to parry the force of this reasoning by assuming that Protestantism meant merely Knox, and not the majority of the

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nation, as represented by the Estates, was rather a pettish device.

On the other hand, Knox, in insisting on submission to the will of God rather than to the will of the people, appears as the theocrat, not the democrat, and the theocracy of a Knox is certainly not an advance on the autocracy of a Mary. The supremacy of the Kirk in the State is in truth rank popery, and the reformer was not enlightened enough to perceive that he was substituting a Protestant for a popish tyranny, or to seek a wider basis for government in the will and rights of the governed. Moreover, the will of God is rather a subjective argument in political debate, and Mary, eschewing prerogative, skilfully appealed to conscience in justification of her refusal to accept Protestantism, or subscribe to Knox's interpretation of Scripture. And here, it seems to me that she had decidedly the better of her antagonist. In championing the rights of conscience, she meant, however, only her own royal conscience, not that of the individual or the nation, if it happened to disagree with hers. For her no dissent from or resistance to the will of the prince, even in religion, is permissible. As against Knox's theocratic dogmatism, however, her reply was pertinent and forcible. "Yea (quod sche), but ye are not the Kirk that I will nureiss. I will defend the Kirk of Rome, for, I think, it is the treu Kirk of God." "Your will, Madam, is no reassone; neather doeth your thoght mack that Romane harlot to be the treu and immaculat spous of Jesus Christ." "My conscience (said sche) is nott so." "Conscience, Madam (said he), requyres knowlege, and I fear that rycht knowlege ye have none." "But (said sche) I have bayth heard and red." "So (said he), Madam, did the Jewes that crucifyed Christ Jesus read both the Law and the Prophetis, and heard the same interprate after thair maner." "Ye interprete the Scripturis (said sche) in one maner, and thei interprete in aneother. Whome shall I beleve? And who shal be judge?" This was indeed a poser, in view of the conflicting jangle of theological exegesis from the days of the apostles to those of Knox himself, and particularly in this Reformation age. Knox refers her to the Bible, which he thinks explains itself, and offers to let the Bible decide between them; but it is certain that in any

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question of doctrine or practice, which he deemed in accordance with Scripture, he would allow no dissent on the plea even of conscience. In these matters he was "of God's privie Counsell," as the English ambassador, Randolph, fitly put it. He again scores, however, when he demands where the extraneous accretion of doctrine and practice of the traditional Church is to be found in the New Testament? Is the mass, for instance, not a very different thing from the simple institution of the Lord's Supper? He makes another strong point (if not very consistently, in view of his own intolerant dogmatism) when he reproaches the papists with their hostility to free discussion, and their refusal to allow any argument but that of "fire and sword."

He left the royal presence with no very charitable or hopeful opinion of his fair opponent. Mary had deliberately told him that she would stick to the Roman Church, and he might have felt that there was more force in some of her arguments than he was willing to admit. He was decidedly splenetic, therefore, on emerging from the presence chamber, though, on parting, he courteously prayed for the blessing of Deborah upon her. To his intimate friends, however, he gave her a very bad character. "Yf thare be not in hir a proud mynd, a crafty will, and ane indurat hearte against God and his treuth, my judgment faileth me."

For a time, however, it seemed as if Mary's conscientious attachment to her religion was less rigorous and dangerous than Knox assumed. She issued a proclamation, at the instigation of the Privy Council, prohibiting, under penalty of sedition, any "alteration or innovation" of the state of religion, pending the meeting of Parliament. The Privy Council further decreed that a third of the rents of the Church should be appropriated by the Crown for, among other purposes, the support of the Protestant clergy, the remainder being left to the old clergy and the lay owners who had managed to get possession of a portion of them. This was better than nothing, but it was a miserable finale to the grand scheme of the "Book of Discipline," and Knox was bitterly chagrined. "I am assured," cried he from the pulpit of St Giles', "that the Spirit of God is nott the auctor of it, for first, I see twa partis freely given to the devil, and the third maun be divided betwix God

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and the devil. Weill, bear witness to me that this day I say it, or it be long the devil shall have three parts of the whole, and judge ye what Goddis portioun shalbe." In spite of this gloomy prognostication, Mary seemed to be acting, from personal and political reasons, it is true, an almost Protestant part in putting down the Catholic but rebellious Earl of Huntly in the north. From the extent of his lands and the number of his followers, Huntly would have been the most formidable leader of a Catholic reaction. He had formerly, as we have seen, offered to raise 20,000 men for this purpose, and now he was slain and his house proscribed. At the close of a characteristic interview at Loch Leven, Knox, in spite of the renewal of his testimony against the unlimited obedience of subject to sovereign, even succeeded in extorting the promise to execute justice on those who presumed so far on Mary's goodwill as to break the law and celebrate mass. In May 1563 forty-eight offenders, among them Archbishop Hamilton, were tried on this charge, and the majority of them committed to ward.

Nevertheless, Knox's conviction that Mary was merely dissembling was not shaken, and his bearing in pulpit and palace had not relaxed its unbending sternness, its watchful alertness. News had come of the reverses of the Huguenots in their struggle with Catherine de Medici and the Guises. The gay court at Holyrood showed no signs of the affliction which weighed heavily on the reformer's spirits. Mary had, it seems, the temerity to dance in these sombre circumstances, and Knox, too hastily let us assume, suspected that her dancing was the expression of her joy at the fate of his reformed brethren in France. Dancing was in itself a sufficiently heinous offence, but dancing in such circumstances was nothing less than fiendish. The pulpit of St Giles', therefore, trembled at the wrathful philippic in which the preacher denounced "the ignorance, vanity, and the despite of princes against all virtue." "Upon Sundaye last," notes Randolph, "he inveied sore against the Quenis dansynge, and little exercise of herself in virtue or godliness, the report hierof being broughte unto her eares yesterdaye, she sent for him." Knox treated her to a recapitulation of the sermon. It contained a denunciation of the wickedness and tyranny of princes in general, without any particular application to

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herself. The following is very characteristic: "After, Madam, that I had declared the dignitie of Kingis and reullaris, the honour whairinto God has placed thame, the obedience that is dew unto thame, being Goddis lievtennentis, I demanded this questioun. But O, allace, what compte shall the most part of princes maik befoir that Supreme Judge whose throne and authoritie so manifestlie and schamefullie thai abuse? That the complaynt of Solomon is this day most trew, to wit, 'That violence and oppressioun do occupy the throne of God here in this earth;' for while that murtheraris, blood thrystie men, oppressouris, and malefactouris dar be bold to present thame selfis befoir kingis and princes, and the poor sanctis of God are banished and exyled, what shall we say, But that the devill hath tacken possessioun in the throne of God, which ought to be fearful to all wicked doeris and a refuge to the innocent oppressed. And how can it otherwise be? For princes will not understand; thai will nott be learned as God commandis thame. But Goddis law thei despyse, His statutes and holy ordinances thei will not understand; for in fidling and flynging thei ar more exercised then in reading or hearing Goddis most blessed Word; and fidlars and flatteraris (which commonlie corrupt the youth) are more pretious in thair eyes than men of wisdome and gravitie who, by holsome admonitioun, mycht beat down into thame some part of that vanitie and pride whairintill all are borne, but in princes tack deepe root and strenth by wicked education." He did not, he concluded, utterly condemn dancing, but dancing should not express pleasure in the displeasure of God's people. If so, God would turn their mirth into sudden sorrow. He would not always afflict His people nor continue to wink at the tyranny of tyrants.

The quotation is interesting as an example of that bold liberty of criticism of royalty in which Knox indulged in public as well as private. He was not solitary in this respect among Scottish preachers, and the preachers contributed to nurture a public opinion which, though not always enlightened, did not hesitate to call in question the doings of the Government. They undoubtedly helped in this way to make the Scottish people more critical and restive of authority than it had been.

Mary found the recapitulation less offensive than the

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report, and added that she would be glad at any time to hear what he had to say if her conduct displeased him. Any other man but Knox would have been flattered by the compliment, but the unconscionable preacher improved the occasion to lecture her on the waste of time which these visits cost him, and to rebuke her for not coming to hear his sermons. "I am called, Madam, to ane publict functioun within the Kirk of God, and am appointed by God to rebuke the synnes and vices of all. I am not appointed to come to everie man in particular to schaw him his offense, for that labour war infinite. Yf your Grace please to frequent the publick sermonis, then doubt I nott but that ye shall fullie understand boyth what I like and myslike, als weall in your Majestie as in all otheris. Or yf your Grace will assigne unto me a certane day and hour when it will please you to hear the forme and substance of doctrin, whiche is proponed in publict to the churches of this realme, I will most gladlie await upon your Grace's pleasur, tyme, and place. But to waitt upoun your chalmer-doore, or ellis whair, and then to have no further libertie but to whisper my mynd in your Grace's ear, or to tell to you what otheris think and speak of you, neather will my conscience, nor the vocatioun whairto God hath called me suffer it. For albeit at your Grace's commandment I am heare now, yitt can I nott tell what other men shall judge of me, that at this tyme of day am absent from my book and wayting upoun the Courte."

No wonder that Mary turned her back upon him with the curt remark, "You will not alwayis be at your book." Whereupon, continues the "History," "the said Johne Knox departed with a reasonable meary countenance; whairat some papists, offended, said, 'He is not effrayed.' Which heard of him, he answered, 'Why should the pleasing face of a gentill woman effray me? I have looked on the faces of many angrie men, and yitt have not been effrayed above measure.'"

Knox's quarrel was as much with the Protestant lords as with the queen. "Who gydis the Queene and the Court?" he bitterly asked; "Who but the Protestantis?" They thwarted him in the palace; they opposed him in the General Assembly, which frequently met during the first years of Mary's reign. It is now that this famous ecclesiastical council

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begins to assume that important place in Scottish life which it has held for so many generations. At this period, and on many subsequent occasions, its importance eclipsed that of Parliament itself. It was the assemblage of the highest and the most influential in the land, as well as of representatives of the lower classes. The influence of the queen, even within this ecclesiastical parliament, was seen in the growing tension between "the lords," and the clerical and lay supporters of Knox. The latter pressed for the ratification of the "Book of Discipline" (December 1561). The lords demurred, and even went the length of asserting that the right of assembly was limited by the royal sanction. Take from us the freedom of assemblies, retorted Knox, and you take from us the gospel. Maitland persisted, however, in bridling his vehemence in deference to the exigencies of policy, and the vigorous language of a petition for the redress of grievances, presented by the Assembly to the queen, was so attenuated in his diplomatic hands that Mary herself was surprised at its "many fair wordis," while expressing her doubts as to where "the heartis" were. His efforts to obtain the royal sanction in Mary's first Parliament, which met in May 1563, were equally unsuccessful. None of the Acts of 1560 was confirmed, and, as Mary had steadily refused to ratify them, Knox saw in the conduct of the politicians rank treachery to the Protestant cause in order to humour the queen. The politicians contented themselves with passing an Act of oblivion in reference to the events of the preceding three years, with a view, according to Knox, to cover their aggressions against Church property. "Sche," reflects he bitterly, "obtained of the Protestantis whatsoever sche desyred; for this was the reasone of many—we see what the queene has done; the lyck of this was never heard of within the realme; we will bear with the queene; we doubt not but all shal be weill." The reason of this forbearance, he adds, was utterly selfish. "Becaus many had their privat commoditie to be handilled at that parliament, the common cause was the less regarded." It would be rash to take the judgments of the reformer as final judgments in conjunctures so trying to an impatient and domineering temper. At this juncture he was estranged from Lord James, now Earl of Moray, and Maitland, almost beyond hope of reconciliation.

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He believed that they ought to have dictated terms which Mary could not have refused without the risk of civil war, and which would have saved the Reformation from the reaction which he feared. The situation was certainly far from satisfactory from the Protestant point of view. The Reformation had been established by the Parliament of 1560, but it had not been ratified by the queen, and the Parliament of 1563 had not dared to speak another word on the subject. As far as the queen and the government were concerned, and in spite of general assurances, it might still seem a moot point whether Scotland was Protestant or Catholic. No wonder that Knox inveighed against this invertebrate state of things, and the tactics of the men who were responsible for it. He now quarrelled with them in his fiercest fashion as traitors to the cause in which they had worked so effectively together. "The mater," he tells us, "fell so hote betwixt the Erle of Moray and some otheris of the Courte and John Knox, that familiarlie after that tyme thei spack nott together more than a year and a half, for the said Johne by his letter gave a discharge to the same Erle of all further intromission or cayr with his affaires."

With the lords he remonstrated in fiery tones from the pulpit, telling them angrily that deference to the queen or political calculation as to her marriage was no excuse for not hurrying on the organisation of the Kirk. "The Quene, say ye, will not agree with us. Ask ye of hir that which by Goddis word ye may justlie requyre, and yf she will not agree with you in God, ye are not bound to agree with hir in the devill." This, with a fling at Mary's proposed marriage, brought him once more into close quarters with his sovereign. Mary was very angry, and burst into vehement reproaches, interrupted by fits of weeping. It was a trying situation, but even royal wrath and tears failed to extort a retractation or induce the slightest hesitation. "The Quene," he tells in one of the most dramatic passages of the "Historie," "in a vehement fume, began to cry out that never prince was handled as she was. 'I have,' said sche, 'borne with you in all your rigorouse maner of speaking, bayth against myself and against my uncles; yea, I have sought your favouris by all possible meanes. I offerred unto you presence and audience

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whensoever it pleased you to admonishe me; and yitt I can nott be quyte of you. I avow to God I shalbe anes revenged.' And with these wordis, skarslie could Marnock, her secreat chalmer boy, gett neapkynes to hold hyr eyes drye for the tearis, and the owling, besydes womanlie weaping, stayed her speiche.

"The said Johne did patientlie abyde all the first fume, and att opportunitie answered, 'Trew it is, Madam, your Grace and I have bein att diverse controversies, into the which I never perceaved your Grace to be offended at me. Butt when it shall please God to deliver you fra that bondage of darkness and errour in the which ye have been nurished, for the lack of trew doctrin, your Majestie will fynd the libertie of my toung nothing offensive. Without the preaching place, Madam, I think few have occasioun to be offendit at me; and thair, Madam, I am nott maister of myself, but man obey Him who commandis me to speik plane, and to flatter no flesche upoun the face of the earth.'

"'But what have ye to do,' said sche, 'with my marriage?' 'Yf it please your Majestie,' said he, 'patientlie to hear me, I shall schaw the treuth in plane wordis. I grant your Grace offered unto me more than ever I requyred; but my answer was then, as it is now, that God hath not sent me to await upoun the courtes of Princesses, nor upoun the chamberis of Ladyes; but I am sent to preache the Evangell of Jesus Christ, to such as please to hear it, and it hath two partes, Repentance and Fayth. And now, Madam, in preaching repentance, of necessitie it is that the synnes of men be so noted, that thei may know whairin thei offend; but so it is that the most parte of your nobilitie ar so addicted to your affectionis that neather God his word, nor yitt thair Commonwealth ar richtlie regarded. And thairfor it becomes me so to speak that thei may know thair dewtie.'

"'What have ye to do,' said sche, 'with my marriage? Or what ar ye within this Commonwealth?'

"'A subject borne within the same,' said he, 'Madam. And albeit I neither be Erle, lord, nor Barroun within it, yitt hes God maid me (how abject that ever I be in your eyes) a profitable member within the same: Yea, Madam, to me it apperteanes no lesse to foirwarne of such things as may hurte

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it, yf I foirsee thame, then it does to any of the nobilitie; for boyth my vocatioun and conscience craves playness of me. And thairfoir, Madam, to yourself I say that whiche I speak in publict place: Whensoever that the nobilitie of this realme shall consent that ye be subject to ane unfaythfull husband, thei do as muche as in thame lyeth to renounce Christ, to banish his treuth from thame, to betray the fredome of this realme, and perchance shall in the end do small comforte to yourself.'

"At these wordis, owling was heard, and tears mycht have been sein in greattar abundance than the mater requyred. Johne Erskine of Dun, a man of meak and gentill spreit, stood besyd, and entreated what he could to mitigat her anger, and gave hir many pleasing wordis of hir beautie, of hir excellence, and how that all the Princes of Europe wold be glad to seak her favouris. But all that was to cast oyle on the flaming fyre. The said Johne stood still, without any alteratioun of countenance for a long seasson, whill that the Quene gave place to hir inordinat passioun; and in the end he said, 'Madam, in Goddis presence I speak. I never delyted in the weaping of any of Goddis creatures; yea, I can skarslie weill abyde the tears of my awin boyes whome my awin hand correctis, much less can I rejoise in your Majestie's weaping. But seeing that I have offered unto you no just occasioun to be offended, but have spocken the treuth, as my vocatioun craves of me, I man sustean (albeit unwillinglie) your Majesties tears rather than I dar hurte my conscience, or betray my Commonwealth through my silence.'

"Heirwith was the Quene more offended, and commanded the said Johne to pass furth of the cabinet and to abyd further of her pleasur in the chalmer."

Knox beguiled the next hour in enlarging to the queen's ladies in the ante-chamber on the fleetingness of female vanities. "And by suche meanes procured he the company of women; and so past the tyme till that the Laird of Dun willed him to departe to his house quhill [until] new advertisement. The Quene wold have had the censement of the Lordis of the Articles, yf that such maner of speaking deserved not punishement; but sche was consailled to desist, and so that storm quiettit in appearance, but never in the hearte."

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A most extraordinary speech for royal ears, accustomed to the sycophancy of the French court, to listen to. Protestantism, especially in the person of courtly bishops, as in England, might very well accord with adulation of royalty, but in Scotland, in the person of John Knox, it was decidedly outspoken and unbending towards the occupant of the throne. Even Mary's tears could not unman it, though the Laird of Dun was very sympathetic and had a bad quarter of an hour during the colloquy of his immovable colleague; and this tendency to defy royalty to its face, even in matters of State, rather than resile from rights and duties, was one of the contributions that John Knox made to the opposition of the future. Mary was not the only Scottish monarch of modern times who had cause to resent and wince at semi-political sermons. Such interference in matters political on the part of the Protestant kirkmen might not be tolerable on ordinary occasions. There were occasions when the pulpit worthily anticipated the press in the ventilation of opinion, and this might fairly be claimed to be one of them. For Mary to marry a papist like Don Carlos might well seem to Knox, and ought to have seemed to Moray and Maitland, the doom both of the Protestantism and the liberty of the commonwealth.

Mary had a chance of revenge sooner than she expected. Knox had occasionally interrupted his multifarious duties in the capital by a tour in the western and southern counties in order to encourage the Protestants and concert measures for united action against the evil day. In the autumn of 1563 it seemed as if the evil day had come. During a progress in the west the queen had mass said in the midst of the faithful, and her co-religionists in the palace of Holyrood had it said in her absence. This was too much for Knox's Edinburgh followers, who entered the palace chapel to protest against idolatry. Two of these disturbers of the peace were arrested, and Knox, who realised that their condemnation would be a severe blow to the cause, wrote a circular-letter convening the Protestants from all quarters to a demonstration in their favour. To call a public meeting for such a purpose was a risky step in those days. It might be construed into treason, and Knox was summoned before the council to answer to the

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charge on the 21st December 1563. Mary appeared in the chamber "in no little warldlie pomp" to enjoy her triumph. Knox has immortalised the scene that followed, with a mixture of humour and grave earnestness, in several pages of his "History." The queen took her place in her chair at the head of the table, smiling, and even bursting into a laugh of exultation as her eye fell on the reformer standing bareheaded at the other end. "Yon man," said she, "gart me greit, and grat never teir himself. I will see gif I can gar him greit." Secretary Maitland stood beside the chair, by no means sorry at the prospect of the humiliation of the man whose terrible tongue had uttered such hard words against the ways of slippery politicians and cringing courtiers. The lords sat at either side of the table, and Mr John Spens, the Lord Advocate, Knox's friend, was present as accuser. Needless to say, the reformer was as self-possessed and uncompromising in the council chamber as in the royal audience chamber in Holyrood. He calmly acknowledged the handwriting of the letter presented to him. "Hard ye evir, my lordis," cried the queen, "ain mair despitfull and tresonable letter?"

"Maister Knox," ejaculated Maitland, "ar ye nocht sorie from your hairt, and do ye nocht repent that sick ane letter hes passed your pen?"

"My Lord Secretour," calmly returned Knox, "befoir I repent, I maun be taucht of my offence."

"Offence," answered Maitland, "gif thair wer na mair but the convocatioun of the Quenis leigis, the offence can nocht be denyit."

"Remember yourself, my Lord," retorted Knox, "thair is a difference betwix ane lauchfull convocatioun and ane unlauchfull. Gif I haif been giltie in this, I haif oft offendit sen I come in Scotland; for what convocatioun of the brethering hes ever bene to this day into quhilk my pen servit not? Befoir this no man led it to my chairge as ane cryme."

"Than was than," was the reply, "and now is now. We haif no neid of sick convocatiounis as sometimes we haif had."

Knox was launching into a characteristic demonstration that the devil was as busy in the land now as then, though he had put on the cloak of justice, when the queen interrupted.

"What is this? Methink ye tryffil with him. Quho gaif

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him authoritie to mak convocatioun of my leigis? Is nocht that tressoun?"

"No, Madam," interposed the Lord Ruthven, "for he maks convocatioun of the pepill to heir prayer and sermoun almost daylie, and whatever your Grace or utheris will think thereof, we think it no tressoun."

"Hald your peace," said the queen, "and let him mak answer for himself."

"I began, Madam," continued Knox, "to ressoun with the Secretour, quhome I tak to be ane far better dialectician then your Grace is, that all convocatiouns ar nocht unlauchfull; and now my Lord Ruthven hes gevin the instance, quhilk gif your Grace will deny, I sall address me for the prufe."

"I will say nathing," said the queen, "aganis your religioun, nor agains your convenyng to your sermonis. But quhat authoritie haif ye to convocat my subjectis quhen ye will, without my commandiment?"

"At my will," was the answer, "I nevir convenit four personnis in Scotland; but at the ordour that the bretherin hes appoyntit, I haif gevin diverse adverteismentis, and grit multitudis haif assemblit thairupone. . . . And thairfoir, Madam, I maun be convyckit be ane just law that I haif done aganis the deutie of Godis messinger in writting of this letter, befoir that either I be sorie, or yit repent for the doing of it. . . . I haif done na wrang."

"Ye sall not eschaip so," said the queen. "Is it nocht tressoun, my lordis, to accuse ane prince of crewеltie? I think thair be Actis of Parliament aganis sick whisperaris."

"But whairintill," queried Knox, "can I be accusit?"

"Read this pairte of your awin bill," said the queen, "quhilk began, 'Thir feirfull summondis is direct aganis thame (*to* wit, the bretherin foirsaid) to make, no dout, preparatioun upoun the few, that ane dore may be opened till execute crewеltie upoun ane grytter multitude.' Lo," continued she, "quhat say ye to that?"

"Is it lauchfull for me, Madam?" returned Knox, "to answer for my self? or sall I be dampned befoir I be hard?"

"Say what ye can, for I think ye have eneuch ado."

"I will first then," replied Knox, "desyre this of your Grace, Madam, and of this maist honorabill audaince, quhidder

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gif your Grace knaws nocht that the obstinat Papistis ar deidlie ennemeis to all sick as profess the Evangill of Jesus Christ, and that thai moist eirnistlie desyre the exterminatioun of thame, and of the trew doctrine that is taucht within this Realme?"

The queen, proceeds the "History," held her peace, but all the lords, with common voice, said, "God forbid that either the lyves of the faythfull, or yet the staying of the doctrine, stud in the power of the Papistis; for just experince hes tauld us what creweltie lyes in thair hertis."

"I maun proceid then," continued Knox, "seeing that I persaif that all will grant that it wer ane barbarous creweltie to destroy sick ane multitude as profess the Evangell of Jesus Christ within this realme, quhilk ofter then anis or twyse thai haif tempit to do be force, as thingis done of lait dayis do testify, quhairof thay, by God and his providence, being dissapointed, haif inventit moir craftie and daingerous practises, to wit, to mak the prince pairtie under cullour of law; and so what they could not do be oppin force, thai sall perform be craftie deceat. For who thinkis, my lordis, that the insatiable crewaltie of the Papistis sall end in the murthering of these two bretherin now injustlie summond, and moir unjustlie to be accusit? I think no man of judgment can sa esteeme, but raythe the direct contrair, that is, that by this few noumer thai intend to prepair a way to thair bloodie interprises aganis the whole. And thairfoir, Madam, cast up when ye list the Actis of your Parliament, I haif offendit nathing aganis thame; I accuse nocht in my letter your Grace, nor yitt your natoure of creweltie. But I affirm yet agane that the pestilent papistis quho have inflamit your Grace without caus againis these poor men at this present ar the sonis of the devill, and thairfoir maun obey the desires of thair father quho hes bene ane liar and ane murtherour from the begyning."

"Ye forget yourself," said somebody, "ye are not now in the pulpit."

"I am in the place," was the retort, "quhair I am demandit of conscience to speik the treuth, and thairfoir I speik. The treuth I speik, impung it quhoso list. And heirunto I add, Madam, that honest, Gentill, and weik naturis, by wickit and

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corrupt counsallouris, may be convertit and alter to the direct contrair. . . ."

Mary, thereafter, rather irrelevantly tackled him on his intermeddling with her matrimonial affairs. This was evidently the sore point, and the secret motive of her suit against the reformer; and Knox, in order to exonerate himself from the implication of overbearing rudeness, treated his judges to a recapitulation of the scene at Holyrood. He was informed, in conclusion, that he might return to his house in the meantime. With a parting fling at "the counsell of flatteraris," he withdrew, and, to the queen's infinite vexation, the lords unanimously voted that he had been guilty of no offence against the law. "That nycht," adds Knox, somewhat maliciously, "was nether dansing nor fyddilling in the courte."

Assuming the danger of a Catholic restoration, sooner or later, and the necessity incumbent on the Protestants of self-defence—and in the circumstances not only of Scotland, but of Western Europe, this was patent enough—Knox's argument is both skilful and forcible. We must remember that he was in the position of the man who occupies a certain point of the battlefield which he must hold at all hazards. He certainly does not fail in point of strategy. In reminding Maitland, to whom he gives some sharp thrusts, and his fellow privy councillors, that they had not failed to convene the lieges when it suited them, he dexterously insinuated that in condemning him they would be condemning themselves. In forewarning his brethren to be on their guard against persecution, he could convincingly appeal to the cruelty and tyranny of which his judges had been witnesses, and which had done so many to death for conscience' sake. As to treason acts, he could honestly say that he had only done his duty in lifting up his testimony against practices which were as illegal as the Parliament of 1560 could make them. To appeal to an Act of Parliament against a meeting in defence of Protestantism seemed, he might aptly retort, a strange proceeding in a Protestant State. The spirit of the argument, apart from the theological vehemence with which he overlaid it, was altogether admirable. He at least will not hesitate to protest publicly, even if it displeases the queen, against what he deems dangerous to Kirk and commonwealth. He will

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hoist the danger signal on the walls of Zion, will speak his mind against all and sundry, in obedience to his conscience, even if he die for it. He may limit the right of free speech, but he will give an example of the right of such speech, come what will. Assuredly John Knox was in this respect a tough subject for a princess, nurtured in the principles of Valois despotism, to tackle. Mary might lose her dignity and her temper in the attempt, but Scotland had reason to be grateful to Knox, with all his intolerance, for daring, single-handed, to hold the citadel of Protestantism in spite of both the queen and the politicians.

Failing to silence Knox, Maitland then attempted a still more impossible task. He tried to argue with him, to convince him that he was wrong in maintaining his opposition to the queen. Before a commission of the General Assembly in 1564 he argued, till he nearly fainted from fatigue, in opposition to Knox's revolutionary views of the relation of sovereign and subject.

MAITLAND—"Whair find ye [in Scripture] that the Propheittis of God speik so irreverentlie of kingis and princes?"

Knox quoted various passages directing the apostles to speak plainly to men of their sins.

MAITLAND—"But they spak nothing aganis kingis in especiall, and yit your continewall crying is, 'The Quenis Idolatrie, the Quenis messe will provoke Godis vengeance.'"

KNOX—"I heir nocht Kingis and Quenis excepit, but all unfaithfull ar pronunced to stand in one rank and to be in bondage to ane tyrant, the devill."

MAITLAND—"Quhair will ye find that onie of the Propheittis did so intreat Kingis and Quenis, reuleris, or magistratis?"

Knox instanced Ahab and Jezebel, and the prophet Elias.

MAITLAND—"That was nocht cryit out befoir the peopill to mak thame odious unto thair subjectis."

KNOX—"That it was whisperit in thair awn eir, or in ane corner, I reid nocht. But the plane contrair appeiris to me."

MAITLAND—"Thay wer singular motiounis of the Spreit of God, and appertene nothing to this our aige."

KNOX—"Sanct Paule teichis me that 'Whatsoevir is

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wryttin within the Holie Scriptouris is writtin for our instructioun.'"

Here Maitland showed signs of collapsing under the strain of the debate. Morton asked Mr George Hay to continue the argument. Mr Hay presently avowed himself at one with Knox as to the right of resistance, and the exhausted secretary was forced to brace himself for another effort.

MAITLAND—"Yisterday we heard your jugement upoun the 13 to the Romanis. In two things I wes offendit. The ane wes, ye maid difference betwix the ordinance of God and the persounis that wer placeit in authoritie; and ye affirmed that men micht resist the personnis, and yit nocht offend aganis God's ordinance. The uther ye had na tyme to explane; but methocht ye menit that subjectis wer nocht bound to obey thair princis gif thai commandit unlauchfull thingis."

KNOX—"Ye haif rychtlie bayth markit my wordis, and understand my mynd; for of that same jugement I haif lang bene, and so yit I remane."

Maitland demanded proof, and Knox entered into an argument to show that the apostle makes a distinction between the office of the civil magistrate, which is ordained of God, and the holder of it, and quoted Old Testament examples of the right and duty of resistance.

MAITLAND (after further sparring over the Old Testament examples)—"Than will ye mak subjectis to controll thair prynces and ruleris?"

KNOX—"And what harm shoulde the Commonwelthe receive if the affectiounis of ignorant reuleris wer moderatit by the wisdome and discretioun of godlie subjectis that thai shoulde do wrong nor violence to no man?"

MAITLAND—"All this ressonyng is nocht of the purpois." The queen, he is certain, will never persecute the adherents of the reformed faith. The question is, whether we may and ought to suppress the queen's mass? Or whether her idolatry shall be laid to our charge?

KNOX—"By Goddis express commandiment idolatry aucht nocht only to be suppressit, but the idolater aucht to die the deith unless that we will accuse God."

MAITLAND—"I knaw the idolater is commandit to die the deith, but by whome?"

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KNOX—"By the peopill of God."

Neither Knox nor his antagonist perceived that, by adhering to this Jewish dogma, they were championing persecuting principles equally with the papists. They merely disagreed as to who is to punish idolatry.

MAITLAND—"But there is no commandiment gevin to the peopill to punisch thair King gif he be ane idolater."

KNOX—"I find no moir privilege grantit unto Kingis by God than unto the peopill to offend God's majestie, so that what his worde commandis to be punischit in the one is nocht to be absolved in the uther."

MAITLAND—"We agree in that, but the peopill may nocht execute Godis jugement, but man leif [leave] it unto himself." In support of this proposition he adduced the testimony of Luther, Melancthon, Bucer, Calvin.

Knox denied that their judgments applied to the case of Scotland. "I speik of the peopill assembled togidder in one bodie of ane commonwealth unto whome God hes given sufficient force, nocht onlie to resist, but to suppress all kynde of open idolatrie."

He was less accommodating and more independent in his attitude to the powers that be than the earlier reformers. He stuck to his contention throughout the remainder of the long colloquy, even though the exercise of the power of the people in this particular instance involved the extermination of those who celebrated mass! It was certainly unfortunate that he did not succeed in shaking himself free from Old Testament notions in his advocacy of popular rights. Again and again it is the theocrat that speaks in the language of the democrat. His train of thought is Semitic, mediæval; and, therefore, though we may agree with his contention that "to resist a tyrant is not to resist God, nor yit his ordinance," the reasons he adduces are sometimes monstrous enough, and too often merely theological where they should be purely political.

John Craig, Knox's colleague, in recording his vote at the conclusion of the debate, stated his conviction in less theological and more convincing terms. In his general proposition he, in fact, anticipated Languet, Hooker, and Locke. "My vote and conscience is that princes are nocht onlie

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bound to keip lawis and promeisses to thair subjectis, but also, that in caise thai faill thay justlie may be deposeit; for the band betwix the prince and the peopill is reciproce."

SOURCES.—Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vols. ii. and iii.; Calendar of Scottish Papers, edited by Bain, vols. i. and ii., 1547-69; Labanof, Lettres de Marie Stuart, 1542-69; Teulet, Relations, t. ii., 1559-73; Knox, History, vol. ii.; Calderwood, History; Keith, Affairs of State; Boece, The History and Chronicles of Scotland, translated by Bellenden; Memoirs of His Own Life, by Sir James Melville (Bannatyne Club); Diurnal of Occurents (*ibid.*); Hay Fleming, Mary Queen of Scots (1897); Hume Brown, John Knox, vol. ii., and History of Scotland, vol. ii. (1902); Tytler, History of Scotland, vol. iii.; Burton, History of Scotland, vol. iv.; Froude, History of England; Lang, History of Scotland, vol. ii. (1902); Martin Hume, Love Affairs of Mary Queen of Scots (1903); Mathieson, Politics and Religion in Scotland, 1550-1695, vol. i. (1902).

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CHAPTER XVII.

Reformation and Revolution in Scotland—The Deposition of Queen Mary and the "De Jure" of Buchanan.

While allowing the Reformation to drift for the present, in spite of Knox's demands and denunciations, Moray and Maitland had been working their hardest to find a suitable husband for the queen. We know what Knox thought of the plan of marrying her to Don Carlos, or other papist candidate. The Don Carlos scheme happily came to nothing, and was merely a "bogle" set up by Moray and Maitland to frighten Elizabeth. The chief difficulty in the way of a satisfactory solution of the question lay, in fact, not in the humours of Mary but in the moods and jealousies of Elizabeth. From political motives Elizabeth strove to prevent her from matching herself with a husband who might be dangerous to her interests, and Moray and Maitland tried to work on her nervousness to extort the recognition of Mary's claim to the English throne. Elizabeth parried the demand, as she was entitled to do, with the counter-demand for the ratification of the Treaty of Edinburgh. The result was a deadlock, which seriously endangered the English alliance, in spite of the efforts of Moray and Maitland to preserve it on feasible terms.

To this deadlock Mary put an end by abruptly falling in love with the most objectionable suitor in the eyes of both Elizabeth, who rather evasively offered to present her with her own lover, Leicester, and her own advisers, who were ready to welcome Leicester if he would bring the recognition of Mary's claim with him. This suitor was Lord Darnley, son of the expatriated Earl of Lennox, whom Elizabeth, in a thoughtless moment, had allowed to return to Scotland. Mary could hardly have made a poorer choice if her preference had been governed by purely State reasons. Darnley

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was handsome, but he was petulant, overbearing, fickle, and vicious, and her impulsive union with him was the beginning of many tragedies. In marrying for love, she indeed persuaded herself that her passion was in accordance with sound policy. Her chosen husband was, next to herself, in the line of the English succession, and the marriage would, she conceived, in spite of Elizabeth's displeasure, only strengthen her own claim. Her calculations both as to her own personal happiness and her ultimate chance of filling Elizabeth's place were destined to prove tragic illusions. Meanwhile, however, she married Darnley, proclaimed him king, and was happy.

The marriage and the proclamation together brought the antagonism of the Protestants to a head. Darnley was a Catholic, though he once condescended to hear Knox preach in St Giles', and in her union with a Catholic husband they naturally enough saw a new menace to their creed. In the proclamation they resented an infringement of the constitutional rights of the Estates. Even to Moray, who had himself gone the length of trying to frighten Elizabeth with the "bogle" of a Catholic husband for Mary, the policy of compromise now appeared unworkable, and, after vainly endeavouring to dissuade her from her purpose, he joined the militant opposition. The General Assembly petitioned for the suppression of popery in the palace as well as throughout the realm, and the definite ratification of the Protestant religion. In reply Mary claimed liberty of conscience for herself, disclaimed any intention of coercing the Protestant conscience, and offered to consent to whatever Parliament might resolve on the question of religion. This sounds exceedingly reasonable, and the profession of regard for conscientious scruples was altogether admirable. But the Protestants did not feel safe without the absolute guarantees which she had hitherto evaded ; and if they had been able to pry into her secret correspondence with the pope and the kings of France and Spain, they would have found concrete grounds for their alarm and their suspicion of double dealing. Her profession of tolerant principles was alien both to the creed she professed and the policy of a Catholic restoration which we know that she secretly cherished. She was certainly politic enough to weigh the chances even as to religion when

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other motives came into play; but queen of a Catholic Scotland she hoped and schemed to be. If she had not formally adhered to the Catholic League that was to carry the counter-Reformation to victory, she was nevertheless bent on a Catholic restoration when the time should come. If she could help it, the last word on this question had not been spoken by the Convention of 1560. The battle was, in fact, still to be fought which should decide the issue as between Protestantism and Romanism as far as Scotland was concerned. In Scotland, as in France and the Netherlands, compromise was as yet, and for long years to come, but a hollow subterfuge of scheming bigots and politicians who never meant to keep their word. If Mary had been sincere in her profession of tolerance, she would have been among the few most enlightened personages of her age. Unfortunately, toleration had not been taught at Paris, where she had been educated, and it certainly was not taught at Rome, to which she looked as to the loadstar of her faith.

The ascendency of her Italian secretary, Riccio, who had displaced Moray as her chief counsellor, was regarded by the Protestants as a menace to their faith, and, even though they had no proof that the Italian adventurer was an emissary of the pope, the foreign correspondence of the queen and her agents contain evidence enough of her determination "to establish and reform the kingdom under the Christian religion, and join other Christian princes with that end." With that end both Pius V. and Philip II. sent her each 20,000 crowns, with assurances of more to come!

Meanwhile she succeeded by her skilfully worded proclamations in cutting the ground from under the feet of Moray, Glencairn, Argyll, Rothes, and other recalcitrant Protestant lords, who determined to risk an appeal to the sword. The dissension in the Protestant ranks over the policy of the last four years, the adhesion to Darnley of men like Morton and Ruthven from considerations of family interest, the scruples of Elizabeth to support men in rebellion against their sovereign, though she had shown no such scruple in the case of the Huguenots, and, not least, the spirit and resource of the plucky young queen,—all contributed to their speedy discomfiture. Mary rode out of Edinburgh, pistol in hand, west-

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wards in pursuit of the rebels, doubled back on the capital for which they made a rush, drove them by her approach into retreat to Dumfries, and ultimately, by her advance southwards with a fresh army in October, across the Border. Before quitting Dumfries they issued a declaration vindicating their action on religious and constitutional grounds. In spite of Acts of Parliament, which, by their own culpable connivance, had not been ratified, despite even royal proclamations, the Protestant religion, they rather tardily protested, in language that might have come from Knox, was endangered by the royal refusal to enforce the laws against papists. Moreover, she had proclaimed her husband king without asking the consent of the Estates, and had thus violated the ancient laws and liberties of the realm.

The cause for which these men protested seemed now in truth in a bad plight. Mary was mistress of the situation, had, it seemed, both Protestantism and the constitution at her mercy. In spite of Acts of Parliament, she had succeeded in imposing her policy and her will on the nation. The tactics that had told against Mary of Guise had failed to tell against her daughter. What had become of John Knox and his dogma of the right of resistance to the powers that be? For the present, John Knox, summoned to account before the Privy Council for a philippic against idolatry, delivered in St Giles' in presence of Darnley himself, was under sentence to hold his peace. Knox at least had no cause to accuse himself of culpable connivance with Mary's mass, and he had ample reason for seeing in the discomfiture of the politicians the vindication of his own honesty and consistency.

Nevertheless, in little more than eighteen months a series of events, sudden, startling, tragic (too well known to need recapitulation), retrieved the discomfiture of the cause on behalf of which Moray and his associates had vainly protested at Dumfries. The estrangement between Mary and Darnley, and the resentment of the nobles at the ascendency of the Italian secretary, led to the murder of Riccio. The murder of Riccio led to the ascendency of Bothwell, and the ascendency of Bothwell led in turn to the murder of Darnley. Darnley may have been as wretched a husband as he is by almost universal consent represented to have been. He exasperated the queen by his

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share in the murder of Riccio, and hopelessly discredited himself by his cowardly desertion of his associates; but it is by no means certain that Mary had not given him fair cause for jealousy at her familiarity with her favourite, and she certainly was not the most tractable of women. There were faults on both sides, and Mary's growing passion for Bothwell assuredly does not tend to exculpate her from a share of the blame for the estrangement between them. Estrangement deepened into hatred on Mary's part, and this hatred culminated in the tragedy of the Kirk of Field. Of Bothwell's share in that foul deed there can be no question, and others besides him — Maitland, Argyll, Huntly, Moray — had, it would seem, gone the length of discussing with Mary at Craigmillar some means, not positively illegal, for getting rid of the insufferable husband, and, with the exception of Moray, probably knew of Bothwell's ruffianly intentions. If Mary was not guilty of co-operation with Bothwell, she did her best to make herself odious and rouse suspicion, which quickly became conviction, by marrying the murderer, whom a court of justice, of which the slippery Maitland and Argyll were members, whitewashed for the purpose. Viewed in the light of her subsequent conduct, she had herself to blame for the implication that in caressing the fever-stricken Darnley at Glasgow, in removing him to the lonely house in the Kirk of Field, in acting the part of the fond wife while the bags of gunpowder lay in the room below ready for explosion on the night of the 9th February 1567, she was doing her infamous part in the consummation of a dastardly crime. Leaving the Casket Letters out of account, the circumstantial evidence is strong against her.

The suspicion of her guilt quickened the reaction against the impossible pass to which things were tending. The Bothwell marriage swelled it to floodtide, and one short month after its celebration followed the melancholy surrender at Carberry Hill, and the enforced abdication in Lochleven Castle, in spite of her passionate protests, and the angry bluster of Elizabeth on the sacredness of royalty.

The antagonists of Mary demanded her abdication on constitutional and moral grounds, and even debated whether to stop short of the death penalty. Some of them were certainly

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arrant hypocrites, mere selfish schemers. It would be guileless, indeed, to look for high principle in most of the chief actors in this memorable crisis of Scottish history. Argyll, Morton, Huntly, Maitland, were probably accessory to the plot to get rid of Darnley, though they may not have had a hand in the actual device, and their patriotism after the murder was actuated by jealousy of Bothwell, as well as by the fear that, in pursuance of his ambition, he would not hesitate to murder the son as he had murdered the father. If Mary would have renounced the murderer, a large party would have restored her to liberty and power. This she would not do, even to save her life, and her fealty to the masterful ruffian whom she owned as husband to the last, was incompatible with the safety of the prince and the realm. Her persistence in her infatuation rendered her restoration absolutely out of the question. The people, at least, in their revolt from a ruler whom they believed guilty of scandalously criminal conduct, acted no dubious part. "Rascal multitude" they might be, but on this occasion they appear as the champions of unalloyed sentiments of disgust and indignation, and they at any rate are not chargeable with hypocrisy in their denunciation of lust and murder in high places. "The Quene," wrote Throckmorton to Elizabeth, "is in verye greate peryll of her lyffe by reason that the people assembled at this conventyon doe mynde vehementlye the destructyon of hir. It is a publyke speache amongest all the people and amongest all estates, saving the counsellors, that theyre Quene hathe no more lybertye nor pryviledge to comyt murder and adulterye than anye other pryvat person, neyther by God's lawe, nor by the lawes of the realme." John Knox and his fellow-preachers improved the occasion to thunder from the pulpit the judgment of God against her as a murderess and an adulteress, and their influence on the popular mind was supreme. Mary's infatuated conduct evoked the expression of the responsibility of the prince to the people. In the Articles presented to the Parliament in December 1567, for instance, the relation between prince and subject is explicitly declared to be of the nature of a contract, and the obligation of this contract is mutual. In the Act of Parliament based thereon the king is held bound by his coronation oath to

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maintain the reformed religion, to rule in accordance with the will of God and the laws of the realm, to repress all oppression and wrong, and to preserve justice and equity to all.

The champions of the queen held, on the other hand, that even if she were guilty of the crimes laid to her charge—and some of them either had little doubt of or admitted the fact—her subjects had no right to refuse her obedience. "Na inferior subject," cried the Bishop of Galloway in a sermon in her defence, "hes power to depryve or depose their lauchfull magistrat whatsumevir, albeit thai committ whordome, murther, incest, or any uther cryme." The bishop had nevertheless no doubt as to her guilt.

This was also the view of Elizabeth. They had no warrant, she directed Throckmorton to tell the lords, by God's or man's law to be as superiors, judges, or vindicators over their prince, whatever disorders they might gather against her. What warrant had they in Scripture, as subjects, to depose their prince? Did not St Paul command the Romans to obey superior powers, although their rulers were infidels? Or what law did they find in any Christian monarchy that subjects might arrest their princes, detain them captive, and judge them? Nor could they find such in the whole civil law. Even if history furnished any such examples, they were the acts of rebels. Throckmorton admonished in vain. So little did these fierce "rebel" Scots esteem the inviolability of the royal person and prerogative that if Mary had not signed her own abdication, and Elizabeth had carried out her threat of forcible interference, her head would have rolled on the block twenty years before the tragic scene at Fotheringay.

A fortnight after her abdication the confederates proclaimed her son as James VI. (29th July 1567). The government passed into the hands of Moray, who had retired to France, as regent, and Protestantism was at last established in the most explicit terms by Parliament as the national creed of Scotland. But Mary was not the woman to submit thus tamely to the miserable fate she had brought upon herself. On the 2nd May 1568 she made her escape from Lochleven, in the desperate hope of regaining her forfeited crown. Already during the wild night gallop to Hamilton Palace, her

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couriers were scouring the country to rouse the Catholic and even the temporising Protestant lords, and hastening with the great news to France, and to Denmark, where Bothwell had found an asylum. In a few days, Cassilis, Huntly, Montrose, Sutherland, Errol, Argyll, and others had responded to her summons, with a few thousand retainers. Moray was only a few miles distant at Glasgow when the news reached him. Retreat, as he said, was certain ruin. Negotiation was out of the question, even when backed with the offer of forgiveness and reconciliation. The sword alone could decide the issue, and in response to a hasty summons he was joined by a force better equipped, if not larger, than that which had gathered around Mary's standard. At Langside not only two armies, but two contending religious and political creeds, met in deadly shock. Happily for Protestantism and political liberty (in view of the future at all events), Moray and his adherents won the day by their valour and their discipline, which Kirkcaldy of Grange knew how to turn to good account. They lost, it is said, but a single man, while five hundred of their enemies lay killed or wounded on the ground, and their loss in the headlong flight would have been much greater but for the merciful generosity of the regent, who checked the pursuit in order to save life. Mary, who watched from a hill within view of the battle the disordered onrush of her henchmen through the straggling village, and saw them reel under the fire of Moray's musketeers posted in the houses and behind the garden walls, saw them, too, struggle forward and close with the lines beyond, saw them break and flee after less than an hour's encounter—Mary and her cause were lost for ever, and another wild gallop, over moor and by-road, into the night and on into the next day to Dundrennan Abbey on the Solway, was the desolating outcome of two weeks of hope and liberty. There was only one way of escape, and that lay across the Solway to England, to evasive hospitality, humiliation, imprisonment, and twenty years of a wretched existence of desperate intrigue, with the block as the grim finale.

Even yet her spirit was unbroken, and she passed over to the English shore of the Solway, hopeful of the spell that her personality and her misfortunes would wield on the English

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Catholics and their monarch. She was not disappointed in her expectation of welcome from the English Catholic lords and squires, who crowded to Lowther Castle to show their sympathy. Elizabeth she was never to see. She must first clear herself of the crimes imputed to her before a commission convened at York, and this commission turned out to be a mere political device to give Elizabeth an excuse for keeping her in durance. Whether it could have cleared her, in view of the evidence which Moray had to produce, is more than questionable. It suited Elizabeth's policy to hush the matter up, with some vague generalities exculpating each party in turn, after evoking the cause from York to Westminster and allowing Moray to produce the Casket Letters—on the withdrawal of Mary's commissioners from the trial. It was most unsatisfactory tactics from the judicial point of view. But from the political point of view it was difficult for Elizabeth either to justify or condemn. If she cleared Mary, she must allow her to return to Scotland or proceed to France. She could not do so without risking complications fraught with the gravest danger to England, which would be exposed, in the one case, to the hostility of the Anglophile Protestant party in Scotland, in the other to the intensified machinations of the Guise party in France. If she condemned her, she would justify the action of the Scots and stultify her own doctrine of the indefeasible rights of princes.

In the "Buik of Articles" and the "Detectio," written in Scots and Latin by Buchanan, and presented by Moray and his fellow Scottish commissioners to the English commissioners, the indictment against Mary is purely historic. The commissioners and their Latin secretary recount the facts of Mary's life and government in justification of the revolution which drove her from the throne. They are a summary of the history of the previous ten years, and have given rise to bitter controversy which is not yet at rest, in spite of the argumentation of three centuries. Into that controversy we need not enter. Mary, it is only too evident, had made herself impossible as ruler by her infatuated conduct, which alienated the sympathy of even the Catholic powers of the Continent. Apart altogether from the difficult question of the Casket Letters, the originals of which have been lost and

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which cannot fairly now be taken as indubitable testimony against her, the circumstantial evidence could hardly be more damning. What is of more interest to us is the fact that Buchanan, who turned into Ciceronian Latin the indictment against Mary, also enunciated the theory of the revolution, which ended in her flight to England, in his famous dialogue, "De Jure Regni apud Scotos."

With Buchanan, the author of the "De Jure," we feel in congenial company. With Buchanan, the author of the "Detectio," we have some difficulty in sympathising. He had been one of Mary's poetic adorers. He had celebrated the charms and the virtues of the Nympha Caledoniæ in glowing Latin verse. He had been the literary companion of her classical studies, and he had experienced her favour and her friendship. It would have better become such a man, in spite of his interest in Darnley as a Lennox clansman, to have sorrowed and kept silence over her sins. A finer nature would have shrunk from holding his former patroness and friend up to the execration of the world in the terrible philippic which he wrote against her, for pay, to the order of Moray and his fellow-commissioners. Even if he had believed her guilty of all that he laid to her charge in such forcible language, it would have been more seemly, certainly more generous, to have evaded the task of showing her to all Europe as the worst of women, the greatest of sinners. His latest biographer, Mr Hume Brown, labours to rehabilitate his reputation from the charge of ingratitude and unseemliness. I hardly think that he has succeeded. If the "Detectio" had come from the pen of Knox, there would have been no jar upon our sense of the fitness of things. While Buchanan was writing laudatory poems in her celebration, Knox was denouncing her in his sternest fashion as an idolatress, summoning her in the name of God to amend her ways. Knox, not Buchanan, was the man to heap up her sins in the face of Europe, and Knox certainly did not neglect his opportunity. She had enemies enough; there was no necessity that Buchanan should enrol himself among the number. If he desired to emulate the honest, vehement Knox, he should have begun sooner. He might have failed to earn a pension, he would have shown a finer character.

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Buchanan, like Major, went to Paris for his university training. He was compelled by want of means to return, and completed his arts course, under Major, at St Andrews. A west-country man like him would have preferred Glasgow. He was probably drawn to St Andrews by Major's reputation as a teacher, though he appears to have relished neither the method nor the matter of the famous doctor's teaching. He wrote a very biting epigram *apropos* of one of his dreary scholastic tomes, in which, in his pupil's merciless judgment, "trifles through the book abound, and scarce a page of sense is found." He was unkind enough, too, to pronounce his lectures on dialectics "sophistry," and it is to be feared that if the judgment lacked respect it did not substantially lack truth. It seems probable, however, that Buchanan learned more from Major than he is inclined, in his sympathy with the humanist reaction, to acknowledge. Certain it is that his old master had taught, in fragmentary fashion, the same doctrine of the political rights of the people as he himself subsequently elaborated as the democratic champion of the revolution of 1567. Not that he wrote the "De Jure" from his reminiscences of Major's political propositions. It was rather the fruit of the reactionary age in which he lived, but it is not a far-fetched guess to assume that some of these propositions were present to the writer's mind even in the midst of the stirring impressions of the revolutionary period in which he wrote.

In other respects there could only be antagonism between master and pupil, for Buchanan was the enthusiastic votary of the new learning, if not, at this early period, of the new creed, and at Paris he threw himself with all his heart into the fray between schoolmen and humanists. It is as a scholar and an apostle of the new culture that he fills a large place in the intellectual history of the age. He differs both from Major and Knox in his emancipation from its theological fervour and narrowness. He belonged for long rather to the school of Erasmus, and, like Erasmus, he hated the monks and made the Scottish Franciscans smart for their sins in two poems written by direction of James V. at their expense. But he was no rabid reformer, and, even after he definitely (about 1560 probably) went over to the reformed side, he does not seem to have been an aggressive Protestant. In his treat-

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ment of political questions, too, he differs from both Major and Knox. Reason and history, rather than the lore of the schools or the teaching of Scripture, are his guides.

The "De Jure" was written, as Buchanan himself tells us in the dedicatory epistle to his pupil James VI., in the midst of the struggle of 1567-68, though it was not published till 1579. His aim was to instruct his royal pupil in the duties of a king and the rights of the people. It professes to be a dialogue between the author and Thomas Maitland, brother of the secretary, who has just returned from France. Buchanan inquires what the French think of the action of the revolutionary Scots towards their queen. In his reply Maitland appears as the indignant opponent of the revolutionists, and the disputants plunge at once into the discussion of the burning question of the right of a people to vindicate justice against a ruler who acts unjustly. The question of the origin of the kingship raises the question of the origin of society. Society, he holds, as Grotius held after him, is the result, not of utility but of the social instinct which is innate in man, and indeed common to the more domptable of animals (*Ea est quædam naturæ vis, non hominibus modo, sed mansuetoribus etiam aliorum animantium indita*). Nature being the unwritten law of God, God is the ultimate author of human society. As the human body is subject to disease, and requires the care of a physician for its restoration and preservation, so the body politic needs a king to preserve it from the action of disintegrating forces and maintain its strength. That kings are not created for themselves, but for the people (*reges non sibi, sed populo creatos esse*), may be inferred from the names given them, apart altogether from their function. Is not the king spoken of as father, shepherd, leader, prince, governor? As the physician preserves health by keeping the body in a certain temperament, the king performs the same function towards the body politic by maintaining justice. Maitland prefers the word temperance to justice, and Buchanan is not disposed to quarrel about the name as long as the health of the body politic is assured, though he thinks that the equability or moderation, indispensable to this end, may most aptly be designated by the term justice. As the body politic cannot subsist without the maintenance

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of justice, it is necessary to elect a king, and the ancients chose to fill the kingly office the man most distinguished for equity and prudence. He is a lawful king whom the people chooses, for the people has the right to confer the supreme power on whomsoever it will (*Populo enim jus est ut imperium cui velit deferat*). The king must understand how to practise the art of government, as the physician does the art of healing. Some men are born kings, are kings by nature, like those artists who excel in virtue of their innate genius, rather than of mere practice. To such a king might be assigned unlimited power over the commonwealth (*liberamque omnium rerum potestatem traderemus*). But, for dearth of born kings, we must be content with the similitude of the true king, and give him the law as colleague, or rather as the moderator of his lusts. For he is a man as well as a king, prone to err by ignorance or self-will. "All by license deteriorate," as the comedy hath it. The most prudent men have, therefore, adjoined the law in order to teach him the way if he be ignorant, and recall him to it in case of aberration. With the form of government Buchanan will not quarrel. The name is immaterial—king, duke, emperor, or consul—nay, he will not object to two kings, as among the Lacedæmonians, or two consuls, as at Rome, elected but for one year. The all important thing is that the people be governed with equity; and because kings have so often followed their own lusts, instead of equity, the people, taught by experience that it is better to entrust their liberty to the laws than to kings (*multis enim edocti erant experimentis melius libertatem legibus quam regibus credi*), has enacted laws to constrain them to right government. That the king must conform to the laws is for Buchanan, as for Fortescue and Bracton, the first axioms of good government (*suas actiones . . . ad legum præscripta confirmarent*). *Rex esset lex loquens, lex rex mutus*, is a fundamental maxim of the past and the future.

Whereat Maitland, who sees his majestic image of absolute king float away like a soap bubble before the blast of Buchanan's democratic rhetoric, is terribly shocked. Thrust into the prison of the law, with scarcely leave to speak! To place the king under the law, is to make authority contemptible. No sane man can be expected to torment himself

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with the affairs of the commonwealth, and be the mere puppet of other men's wishes. Henceforth there will be a greater dearth of kings than there was of bishops in the infancy of the Christian religion. And yet, returns the imperturbable democrat, the greatest kings have been such as I have been describing. What saith antiquity? "This form of government I have not invented, for it seems to have been approved by all the most renowned men of antiquity." The king, he continues, is only the executor of justice, the guardian of the laws, in co-operation with a council, chosen from the Estates of the realm, which is responsible to the people. The people! exclaims Maitland contemptuously, that beast with many heads? Yea, the people, retorts Buchanan, slapping conventionality for once in the face, "for the multitude usually judges better of all things than single persons" (*nam multitudo fere melius quam singuli de rebus omnibus judicet*). But, objects Maitland, may not the laws clash, or be wanting in perspicuity, and thus lead to confusion and anarchy if the king have no right to intermeddle by his own authority? The safety of the people is the supreme law, returns Buchanan, quoting Cicero, and the duty of the king is to see that this law be observed in all matters of debate. But he may not presume to interpolate the law, for this is to give him the license to evade the law. He must so rule as to win the love and goodwill of his subjects—the arms that alone make him invincible. He should be the father of his people, their model of the virtues, clothed with the majesty of goodness and justice, apt to rule, the object of reverence, due to a noble character fulfilling a high vocation. Such a king is one of the greatest gifts of God; yea, the true king is, in this sense, the living image of God. If the law is superior to the king, the king ought to be superior to his subjects in moral excellence.

Our philosopher then proceeds, with the assistance of Aristotle, to define and delineate a tyrant, the opposite of the true king. The tyrant is a potentate who obtains the government, not by the will of the people but by force or fraud. It makes no difference that his government may afterwards prove tolerable, since he rules the State on a wrong principle —that of his own interest and ambition, not of the common good. All such are enemies to God and man, and are to be

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put to death. But what, objects Maitland, of hereditary kings, who obtain the crown by succession, and not by the suffrages of the people? Is it not the case, as the jurists opine, that the people transmitted their power to them, and that their will should therefore be accounted law? Certainly not, replies Buchanan. No free people was ever so infatuated as to prostrate itself to such servitude. Yet, must we take our kings by inheritance and not by choice, is the rejoinder. Whereupon our erudite philosopher enters into an historical disquisition to prove, that though the Scottish kings receive the crown in virtue of hereditary succession they have often been called to account, and even put to death for misgovernment. Nay, for long before the accession, of Kenneth III., who established the sceptre in his own family, the kingly office *was* elective, not hereditary. Kenneth, he holds, only did so by consent of the people. Even if he obtained the sovereignty by force or fear, which he does not believe was the case, it was not binding on the people. The example of Baliol, displaced in favour of Robert I. for his treachery to the State, goes to prove that the people retained the right to grant or refuse the supreme power. Nay, do not the Scottish kings at their coronation swear to observe the laws, and did not James III. lose his life for their maladministration? The murderers of good kings like James I. were, on the other hand, punished for their violation of the laws.

After again emphasising that no gift is greater than a good king, he broaches the question what is to be done with a wicked king—a king who breaks the laws, and acts as a public enemy, and is therefore a tyrant? Maitland hesitates to give the logical answer, pleads custom and the danger of trying to cure a disease by a desperate remedy, quotes Scripture, tries in short to wriggle away from an unwelcome alternative. To all which Buchanan replies at length, and contends that Paul, whom Maitland quotes, in exhorting to subjection to the temporal power, only commanded obedience to the magistracy, to government as an institution, in opposition to those Christians who denied that the secular government had authority over them. The magistracy, according to the apostle, is an ordinance of God, and therefore Christians are subject to it, although they are the freemen of the Lord.

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Of tyrants and wicked kings Paul does not speak. Let tyrants and wicked kings, therefore, be hanged for their misdeeds. And let no true king be offended thereat, as an outrage upon his order; for if a smith or a baker be hanged for robbery, and his fellow-craftsmen rejoice that their craft is purged of such villains, why not kings? Doth not God command wicked men to be cut off, and doth He except any age, rank, or sex from this law? Nay, verily, "for kings are no more acceptable to God than beggars." But where, in Scripture, was ever a king put to death? asks the horrified Maitland. Where, in Scripture, is the punishment of a wicked king reprehended? queries his unabashed antagonist. As God, and not the people, was the creator of the Jewish kings, it is but reasonable that He should reserve their punishment to Himself. But, in the case of a sovereign created by popular election, the people has the inalienable right to call him to account, and punish him by death if need be. "The people," he boldly continues, repeating John Major, "by whom our kings enjoy whatever right they claim, is more powerful than their kings, and has the same authority over them which they possess over each member of the State individually. . . . All nations which are subject to kings, elected by themselves, commonly agree in this, that whatever right the people has conferred, it may recall for just reasons. This right all commonwealths have retained."

But what will foreigners say of this Scottish democracy? nervously asks Maitland, harking back to the origin of the debate. Hereupon follows a vindication of what Buchanan regards as a fundamental principle of the Scottish constitution. It is no more expedient to place the king above the law, and thus grant him license to oppress the people, than it is to grant a physician liberty to kill whom he listeth. No good king has cause of offence in this, and in the case of wicked kings the necessity of the superiority of the law is self-evident. As the king derives his authority from the law, and the people, as its author, is superior to the law, the people is superior to the king. Thus the sovereignty, according to Buchanan, really resides in the people, and he deserves the distinction of stating this momentous modern doctrine in unmistakable terms. But does the people, then, invariably agree to do the right? This

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is too much to expect, and, if it were so, law would be unnecessary. But law being necessary, what more natural than that a free people should forestall tyranny by making the chief magistrate subject to it with all the rest? And if a subject may institute a suit against the king for some petty cause, say the possession of a piece of land which is disputed by him, why not all the subjects in case of oppression? If it be objected that it is derogatory to the king to appear before an inferior for judgment, it must be remembered that it is the law that judgeth, seeing that the judge has his authority from the law, and not the law from the judge, and merely applies the law. The dignity of the law is above all other. Moreover, the law proceeds against a king who is guilty of crime, as a criminal and not as a king. Shocking logic this for the ears of a royal pupil, and that pupil the future James I. of England. His tutor does not apparently perceive the modern constitutional expedient of maintaining the inviolability of the king while calling to account his responsible advisers. The responsibility of ministers to the nation as well as to the king was not yet indubitably established as a factor of parliamentary government, and more revolutions were necessary to make this clear.

But, objects Maitland, have we not sworn allegiance to the king? Yes, but has the king not sworn allegiance to equity and justice? Is there not a compact between king and people, and, if the king break this compact, does he not forfeit his authority? If he act against the interest of the people, he is a tyrant, and, as a tyrant, may justly be put to death by any of his subjects, for he is in a state of war against the nation. Tyrants being by logic and their own deserts worthy of death, let foreign carpers at the Scots, therefore, hold their peace. Many nations, various governments; and no nation has a right to seek to impose its constitution on another, especially if that constitution be, in our author's fond imagination, two thousand years old, and consequently the oldest in Europe, and has proved its utility by keeping kings in moderation.

In all this Buchanan is not original. It would be easy to piece most of this democratic reasoning together from the writings of the mediæval jurists and theologians. The doctrine of the compact, of the supremacy of law, even of tyrannicide,

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had found champions long before Buchanan. Nor is the "De Jure" a profound study of the science of government such as his contemporary Bodin was engaged in elaborating, and Machiavelli had given to the world fifty years before. Our author is no political philosopher, no comprehensive student of history. Compared with Bodin or Machiavelli, he must indeed appear superficial. His mind moves within a narrow compass. It is only fair, however, to bear in mind the special purpose of his tract. Its object was to vindicate, from reason and Scottish history, the revolution of 1567, and it would certainly have failed of its purpose and effect had its author lost himself in the maze of speculation. It is the work of the publicist, not of the philosopher, and it was meant to be this. In answer to the prejudiced critics of these Scottish revolutionists, Buchanan emphasises the fact that peoples have rights as well as kings, and are justified in certain contingencies in vindicating these rights on practical grounds, apart from any theory of divine right or traditional prescription. Even if the Scottish constitution was not two thousand years old, and even if the compact, as an invariable explanation of the origin of kingship, was an assumption of the theorists, Buchanan could adduce from Scottish history precedents in support of his thesis. The theory of the inviolability of kings and the responsibility of ministers might have afforded a safer solution of the problem. But the theory was not yet established as a working expedient, and in this particular case it is difficult to see how the queen could have imputed the responsibility for the marriage with Bothwell and its inevitable consequences to anybody but herself and her criminal husband. There are cases in which even the theory of the responsibility of ministers (supposing it to have been understood) will not work, and this was certainly one of them. Mary allowed Bothwell to use a show of force to compel her to a scandalous and intolerable act, and yet, despite the universal denunciation of her subjects, she refused to give him up. She had by her own act made herself absolutely impossible as ruler, and, in such a contingency, arguments based on tradition or sentiment lost any force they might have had over the minds of her opponents. This, it seems to me, is the strong point of Buchanan's disputation. His doctrine of tyrannicide might easily lead to the

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brutal expedient of the anarchist. It would be only fair to give even a tyrant the benefit of a trial, but his tyrant is one who is in a state of war against the nation, and it is evident all through that his idea is that, in the interest of the State, the *salus populi*, the law as a rule shall take its course against a ruler proved guilty of serious crimes against the commonweal. He wrote his book, not so much to vindicate assassination as to vindicate the law from arbitrary encroachment. The ruler that systematically breaks the law by his oppression becomes in fact an outlaw, and must take his chance accordingly. And assassination was certainly not to the sixteenth century the hideous crime that it appears to us. It was an expedient practised by the potentates and parties of the age. The Protestants murdered the Duke of Guise and Cardinal Beaton, the Catholics Coligny, William of Orange, Henry III., and Henry of Navarre, and tried to murder Elizabeth. Philip II. practised murder as a fine art and Catherine de Medici gave to the world in the Massacre of St Bartholomew an object lesson in that art on the grand scale. It was reserved for Mary Stuart to incur the suspicion of the guilt of the murder of her own husband. Not that the conscience of the more moderate Catholics and Protestants did not revolt against the practice of murder for political or religious ends. But, in an age of intrigue, strife, and blood, passion was inclined to condone methods which reason and morality might condemn, and it was not for potentate or party in the sixteenth century to call Buchanan names for inculcating that a ruler who oppresses the people may summarily be put to death.

Not, then, as a philosophical treatise or as an exposition of constitutional law, but as a spirited protest of the right of a people, in a certain contingency, to protect itself from misgovernment by the only effective expedient in the circumstances, does the "De Jure" take its place in history. But its importance was by no means confined to the age in which it appeared. In view of its future influence, it was a manifesto for the seventeenth as well as the sixteenth century. It was published in 1579, though evidently written shortly after the events of 1567. It was condemned by the Scottish Parliament in 1584, but, in spite of renewed prohibitions and the bitter denunciations of royalist champions throughout the

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seventeenth century, it had many editions and many readers down to the revolution of 1688-89. Ever after this event it continued to be published and read, and one of the last editions appeared in the very year in which the French Revolution broke out. Its influence on political thought and aspiration in Scotland at least has been very marked. Partly from Knox, still more from Buchanan, Scotsmen learned the reasons for their political faith, which they advocated in Parliament and Assembly, and for which they fought on the battlefield. Its democratic ring went to the heart of a people which battled for its religious creed and its political rights. Buchanan, at least, does not take the name of the people in vain. The people, the multitude, is for him a real force in the nation, and its interests and even its judgments ought to be considered. In contrast to Knox, his instincts are democratic rather than aristocratic; and when he appeals to the people, it is his fellow-countrymen, not a partial assembly of barons and burgesses, that he undoubtedly understands by the term.

In his "History of Scotland," too, which he wrote in the last years of his life, he appears as the democrat throughout. He believes in a Celtic Council or Parliament which solemnly deposes its tyrant rulers centuries even before Christ! This sanguine democratic temperament in our perfervid Celtic historian may excite a smile, but recent research has tended to show that government among the ancient Celts, as among the ancient Teutons, was by no means absolute. To discern the prototype of the modern parliament in these ancient assemblies may be naïve enough, especially as our author, like Hector Boece and John Major, shows a blissful capacity for placidly mistaking legend for fact. But to give a democratic colouring to the institutions of our legendary forefathers is not necessarily an anachronism, though the democracy may not be a modern one. What is amusing is the lack of true historic perspective which might have discovered differences as well as similitudes. Our amusement is not lessened by the probability that not one of the long list of legendary potentates, whose doings he gravely retails, ever existed in the flesh. They are as visionary as their history.

Though so characteristically democratic in spirit, the "De

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Jure" is not revolutionary. It appreciates a good king, and so far is Buchanan from intending to discredit royalty that he dedicated it to James VI. for the set purpose of showing him how to be a model monarch. The pupil failed to appreciate his master's good intentions. It had, in fact, the very opposite effect from that which he intended, and he must strangely have misread James's character if he imagined that he could thus transform the autocratic Stuart into a popular king. James's own political writings were to breathe a very different spirit, and in them Buchanan came in for his due share of bitter invective.

SOURCES.—Same as for the preceding chapter, for the most part, with the addition of Buchanan's De Jure Regni apud Scotos, editio secunda (1580), and his History; Hume Brown's Biography of Buchanan (1890).

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WORKS

BY

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I.

THE GROWTH AND DECLINE OF THE FRENCH MONARCHY.

8vo, pp. xx + 840, 21s. net (published 22nd April 1902).

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